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*Engraved by James Eddler, R.A. from a drawing by W. Skelton, taken from
a picture in the possession of the Earl of Denbigh.*

JOHN WICLIF.

Published as the Act directs May 1. 1820. by J. Parker, Oxford.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE AND SUFFERINGS
OF

THE REVEREND AND LEARNED
JOHN WICLIF, D.D.

Warden of Canterbury Hall, and Professor of Divinity in Oxford,
and Rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in the Reigns
of King Edward III. and King Richard II.

TOGETHER WITH
A COLLECTION OF PAPERS AND RECORDS
RELATING TO THE SAID HISTORY.

BY JOHN LEWIS, M. A.

MINISTER OF MEREGATE.

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED BY THE AUTHOR.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXX.

*Lewis
John Wiclif*



ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Edition of Lewis's Life of Wiclif is printed verbatim from a copy corrected by the Author, which was purchased at the sale of Sir Peter Thompson's Library, by Mr. W. Clarke, Bookseller in London, and by him sold to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

IT is the usual practice of the men of this world, who hate the light, and will not come unto it, to defame the persons and blacken the characters of those who tell them the truth. Instances of the justness of this observation we have too many in all countries and ages: but as flagrant an one as any, is what has been lately given us here at home by a pretended *Presbyter of the Church of England*. This man proposes to furnish the English reader with a history of *the pretended Reformers*. He begins with John Wiclif, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and assures his readers, that “when Wiclif (who, it seems, stands most “in the man’s way) is dispatched, the world shall be “*obliged* with a farther account of some more Reformers; “that they are under the curse of the Amalekites; not “even an Agag shall be spared.” To execute this doughty undertaking, he has, as he tells us, *made English from the French original, the History of the Heresy of John Wiclif, &c*: but, for what reason he knows best, he is not so kind as to let his reader know who wrote this history. Whether he knew the name of Varillas, which is infamous among even the Papists themselves for his want of even common honesty, would discredit his performance, or whatever reason he had for it, he wisely drops his author’s name. But had he himself had any knowledge of the English history, he must surely have been ashamed to have been the translator of a writer, who writes in so open defiance of it; for thus he tells us very gravely, “that Peter- E. Tr. p. 5.
“pence was a tribute exacted yearly upon every chimney

- p. 13. “ in the kingdom : that before the Conquest the laws of
 “ England were not *written laws*, but conveyed down by
 p. 18. “ the tradition of the magistrates : that the privileges of
 “ Parliament are an usurpation upon the royal authority :
 p. 4. “ that the election to bishoprics, here in England, in Wic-
 “ lif’s time, *absolutely* depended on the voices of the Chap-
 “ ters, though the Court of Rome did often intervene.” It
 is no wonder that a writer who could blunder at this rate
 p. 38. should tell us, that “ Thomas Arundel (who he says else-
 “ where was Archbishop of Canterbury 1386, ten years
 “ before he was so) anathematized Wiclif, &c. in a Coun-
 p. 20, 22. “ cil at Canterbury 1377 : that Wiclif was cited by the
 “ Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to ap-
 “ pear before them almost a year before King Edward
 p. 20. “ III.’s death : that the Pope’s schedule of nineteen
 “ Conclusions held by Wiclif was a scroll of *three* er-
 p. 29, 4. “ rors which he had advanced : that Wiclif was de-
 “ sirous to succeed Sudbury the Archbishop of Canter-
 “ bury, and that the ministers of the Court of Rome op-
 p. 27. “ posed his election : that the rebellious boors were the
 p. 25. “ followers of Wiclif : that John Ball went to seek out
 “ Wiclif, who received him with open arms, and after two
 “ or three conferences gave him leave to preach his doc-
 “ trine ; and that Wiclif recanted before a Council held by
 “ Archbishop Courtney at London 1382.” It can be no
 surprise to any one to find a writer, who is so full of per-
 petual impostures, calling places and persons by wrong
 names, as Leicester, Lancaster ; Swinderby, Windarby ;
 Wodford, Winchfort ; unless these be the escapes of the
 translator, who calls William Wodford, John Woodford.
 But as gross a falsehood as any is what this fabulous and
 p. 35. romantic writer says of the learned Sir Henry Spelman,
 the collector of our English Councils. Having asserted,
 that Wiclif being brought before his proper judges, Arch-
 bishop Courtney, &c. at London 1382, abjured all he had
 taught contrary to their sentiments, without exception ;
 he adds, that “ that piece [the form of abjuration] had yet
 “ been to be found in its place among the acts of the

“ Council, if the English compiler, too passionate for the
 “ glory of his nation, &c. had not undertaken to suppress
 “ it, and to place in its stead a confession of faith, which,
 “ properly speaking, is nothing more than a pure cunning
 “ discourse, smoothing over the errors of Wiclif.” For
 proof of this, he refers to one Wingeon, whom he else-
 where calls Vingeon and Vington, a writer whom nobody
 ever heard of before. But it is but looking into Sir Henry
 Spelman’s Collection to be satisfied that all this is forgery
 and pure invention : however, our translator, to shew his
 judgment, approves of the story. But so exceedingly
 transported is *he* with zeal against Wiclif, as to seem to
 think nothing amiss that serves to blacken his memory,
 and render it hateful.

Hist. du
 Wic. p. 58.
 Hist. de
 l’Heresie,
 p. 42.

For this purpose he tells his reader, that “ Dr. Wiclif’s
 “ cause was first patronized by one who endeavoured to
 “ be a vile usurper, and by a whore, and was carried on
 “ by no better means to its period : that his first motive
 “ to reform was revenge for the loss of a bishoprick ; that
 “ he went on through all his conduct with evident signs
 “ of being a wicked man ; that his notions were wicked
 “ and abominable, and his religion chiefly supported by
 “ two main pillars, *viz.* sacrilege and rebellion : and that
 “ he was guilty of impiety and enthusiasm, in obviating
 “ all the laws of God and man, and destroying the peace
 “ of society : nay, that his notions animated all the rebel-
 “ lions we have had since, and under Henry VIII. plun-
 “ dered churches, destroyed monasteries, and wrought
 “ such convulsions as have shocked religion ever since.”
 So exceeding mad does our translator shew himself against
 the memory of this great Reformer.

Pref. p. 7.

p. 9.

p. 12.

p. 33.

p. 35.

But the rest of his performance is like this. He offers
 to assert, that “ the foreign Reformers have ever laid the
 “ foundations of their religion in blood.” As if among the
 Papists there never were any state revolutions, nor civil
 commotions. He very reverently charges King Edward
 III. with *folly*, for letting such a poisonous weed as Wiclif
 grow. He is so hardy as to affirm, that “ temporal lords

p. 7.

p. 11.

p. 22, 23.

“ cannot take away the goods of the Church without sacrilege ; nay, that it is blasphemy to assert that they can transfer a monastery to any other than ecclesiastical property.” As if by the Christian institution ecclesiastics were to have the property of all kingdoms and nations invested in them, and all other people were to be their tenants and slaves. “ It is well known how before

Bp. Sander-
son's Ser-
mons, p.
211, 212.

“ the Reformation both Church and commonwealth groaned under the heavy burden of the abbey lubbers : the commonwealth whilst *they* became lords of very little less than the one half of the temporalities of the kingdom ; and the Church whilst they engrossed into their hands the fruits of most of the best benefices of the realm.”

Bp. Bisse's
Sermon be-
fore the
Sons of the
Clergy, p.
10.

Nor was this all ; the zeal of these men, who were thus munificently provided for, was “ constantly shewn in betraying the sovereignty and wealth of the kingdom to the usurpation of a detestable foreign power.”

He further represents Wiclif as an enemy to *Episcopacy*, and declaring that Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. are the pimps of Antichrist ; but he seems on purpose to have omitted the other nine, *viz.* the Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, &c. lest his reader should see that Wiclif speaks only of the Papal hierarchy : who, it is plain, are

Pont. Rom.
p. 59.

sworn when they are made Bishops to “ assist in maintaining and defending the Roman Papacy, and the regalities of St. Peter.” What Dr. Wiclif's opinion was of *Episcopacy* is shewn in the following papers. He allowed the Pope to be “ the highest Vicar that Christ has

“ here in earth,” and Bishops to be the successors of the Apostles : but he denied that Bishops were of a different order from Priests, or that by virtue of their calling they had any power to do what Priests have not. And this was certainly the sense of the Church of England long before Dr. Wiclif's time. The seventeenth of the canons of Ælfric to Bishop Wulfin in the Saxon language runs thus :

Spel. Con-
cil. vol. i.
corr. a W.
Somner,

“ Haud pluris interest inter Missalem Presbyterum et Episcopum, quam quod Episcopus constitutus sit ad ordinationes conferendas, et ad confirmandum, et ad in-

“ spiciendum, curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, MS. in Bibl.
 “ eo quod nimia ascriberetur multitudini (ejusmodi rerum Eccl. Christi
 “ administratio) si omnis Presbyter hoc idem faceret. Cantuar.
 “ Ambo siquidem unum tenent eundemque ordinem,
 “ quamvis dignior sit alter *scil.* Episcopi.” Is not this
 the same with Dr. Wiclif’s assertion, that “ they are Pre-
 “ lates on account of their power of jurisdiction, as being
 “ of a superior majesty and government?”

He tells us news, that the eighteen Articles condemned p. 27.
 by Archbishop Arundel, in the Convocation which met
 Feb. 26, 1396, were not condemned by him till the year
 after; and that the *very same* Articles that were con-
 demned by the Council of Constance, were publicly main-
 tained by Huss and Jerome. It is very plain, that the
 first, second, and third of these Articles were never main-
 tained by John Huss, who constantly professed to hold
 the doctrines of the *real presence* and *transubstantiation*.
 Thus he quotes Bede with approbation. “ Quia panis cor
 “ hominis confirmat, et vinum auget sanguinem in ho- Passio Chri-
 “ mine, merito idem panis in carnem Domini mutatur, et sti ex IV.
 “ idem vinum in sanguinem transfertur, non per figuram, Evangelist.
 “ nec per umbram, sed per veritatem.” The same has apud Opera
 been shewn of Jerome of Prague, that he professed to hold J. Huss, vol.
 and believe what the Church believes and holds; saying, ii. p. 16. c. 2.
 that he rather believed Austin and the rest of the Doctors L’Enfant
 of the Church, than Wiclif and Huss. Histoire du
 Concile de
 Constance,
 p. 396.

Article IV. was denied both by Dr. Wiclif and John
 Huss. Thus does the latter deliver his sense. “ Item De Cœna
 “ credendum est quod tam bonus quam malus sacerdos, Domini,
 “ habens fidem rectam circa sacramentum venerabile, et apud Opera,
 “ habens intentionem sic facere ut præcepit Christus, et vol. i. p. 48.
 “ dicens verba in Missa secundum institutionem Ecclesiæ c. 2.
 “ conficit, id est, virtute verborum sacramentaliter, facit
 “ ministerialiter, esse sub specie panis verum corpus
 “ Christi. Similiter sub specie vini facit ministerialiter,
 “ esse verum sanguinem Christi. Et dico *facit ministeri-*
 “ *aliter*, quia tanquam minister Christi, qui potestate et

“verbis Christi facit, quod facit Christus potestate propria et verbis propriis, transubstantians panem in corpus suum et vinum in sanguinem suum.”

The sixth Article, I have shewn, was utterly denied by Dr. Wiclif; so was likewise Art. XV. and Art. XVI. and Art. XVII. and the latter part of Art. XVIII.

As to Art. XXVII. I have shewn in what sense Dr. Wiclif held it in the following papers.

There is nothing appears in those writings of his that I have perused, that shews he said any such things of Universities, Colleges, &c. as he is charged with saying of them in Art. XXIX.

Article XXX. is wrongfully charged upon him, as is the latter part of Art. XXXVII.

Article XLII. is directly contrary to what was held and taught by him.

Fascic. Rer.
vol. i. p. 295.

Article XLV. is plainly misunderstood, as if he intended by it to condemn the Christian religion as introduced by the Devil; whereas he only spoke of the Religious Orders, which he calls the Four Sects.

So far is it from being true, that “the *very same* Articles, in number forty-five, which were condemned by the Council of Constance, were acknowledged ever after as Wiclif’s, and publicly maintained by Huss and Jerome.”

The translator proceeds to inform his reader, that John Woodford was commanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to oppugn “eighteen errors of John Wiclif’s taken out of his Trialogue, and that *one* of them struck at Infant Baptism:” that *one Article* is the IV. which is thus expressed; “That they who determine that the children of the faithful who die without Baptism shall not be saved, are in this presumptuous and foolish.”

p. 26.

He adds, that “not only Woodford, but even the Council of Constance harmoniously agreed in the same accusations.” But it is very sure that the sixth Article condemned by the Council of Constance, *viz. Deus debet obedire Diabolo*, is not once mentioned by Woodford, nor

yet by Thomas de Walden, one of Wiclif's sharpest opposers.

He proceeds in a very assuming manner to aver, that "Wiclif's friends have nothing to allege on their side but "positive assertions, without the least shadow of proof." As if Popish severity had been so effectual as to destroy all that learned man's writings, and not to suffer a single leaf to remain.

In another uncharitable pamphlet he resents it very highly, that Wiclif should affirm, that "in St. Paul's time "two orders in the Church were sufficient, *Sacerdos* et "*Diaconus*, and that in the time of the Apostles there "was no distinction of *Pope, Patriarch, Archbishop, &c.*" as if this was not very plain to every one who has read his Bible, and made the best of it. Time was, when this was not reckoned either an heretical or erroneous opinion, even in this Church. In the year 1537, it was affirmed as truth, by the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, nineteen Bishops, eight Archdeacons, and seventeen Doctors of Divinity, Canon and Civil Law, that "in the New Testament "there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions "in Orders, but only of *Deacons* or *Ministers*, and of "*Priests* or *Bishops.*"

Letter to
Bp. of Ely,
p. 6.

The Insti-
tution of a
Christian
Man, fol.
41. b.

It is altogether as wise and judicious a remark that he makes on Bishop Reginald Pecock, whom he in contempt styles one Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, that "he lopped off *four* supernumerary articles in the Apostles' Creed;" because he was charged with affirming, 1. That the Apostles composed not the vulgar Creed. 2. That the Article of *Christ's descent into hell* was not formerly in the Creed. 3. That it is not necessary to believe in the *holy Catholic* Church. 4. That it is not necessary to believe the *Communion of Saints*. Now it is well known to all learned men, that in the most ancient copies of this Creed, the words *he descended into hell, the Communion of Saints*, and the word *Catholic* before Church, are wholly omitted. And it is a very great argument of the ignorance and barbarity of that unhappy age, that

Mr. Whar-
ton's Pre-
face, p. 38.

Usser de
Symbolis,
p. 8.
Bp. Pear-
son on the
Creed, p.
225, 334.

men should be condemned as heretics for asserting what is as plain as that the sun shines at noon day, *viz.* that the Apostles did not compose the Creed that bears their name; and, that the Decretal Epistles are not genuine; which last was one of the Articles with which Wiclif was charged by the Council of Constance.

Cave's Hist.
Liter. vol. i.
p. 524, 525.

I am afraid I tire the reader, with taking notice to him of such a confused mass of ignorance and scurrility: I shall therefore only add, that the poor visionary creature “*sees*

Pref. p. 6, 7.

“*with astonishment* a book published with the sacred stamp of authority, in which a Jew is recorded a martyr.” This refers to *two* of the canons made in the Convocation held 1571, by which it was ordered, “That every Archbishop, Bishop, and Archdeacon, should have in their houses Mr. Fox’s Acts and Monuments.” When this book was first published, he was thought to have done very “exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in shewing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of Popes and Papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men in all ages and countries against them: and especially under King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary here in England, preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those Bishops and Divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, and for refusing to comply with Popish doctrines and superstitions. Archbishop Whitgift styles Mr. Fox, that worthy man, who had so well deserved of this Church of England, and tells Mr. Cartwright, that he had read over his Acts and Monuments from one end to the other.” And again, “Mr. Fox, who hath very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter, [of Archbishops and Metropolitans,] and searched out the truth of it, as learnedly as I know any man to have done.” The great Mr. Camden thus writes of him, “*Ex eruditorum numero obiit Joannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam sive Mar-*

Strype's
History of
the Reform.
p. * 238.

Defence of
the Answer
to the Ad-
monition,
p. 333.
Elizabethæ
Annales, p.
558. ed.
8vo.

“tyrologium indefesso veritatis studio primum Latine,
 “postea Anglice auctius magna cum laude contexuit.” It
 has been found by those who have searched the records Bp. Burnet.
 Mr. Strype.
 and registers that he used, that he is always faithful. Nay,
 this has been owned by *one who takes all opportunities * Mr. Col-
 to depreciate his character and undervalue his work. It lier.
 has been particularly shewn, that as to private stories, Mr. Strype's
 History of
 the Reform.
 Fox and his friends used the utmost diligence and care p. * 242.
 that no falsehood might be obtruded on the reader, and
 were very ready to correct any mistakes that might hap-
 pen. Nay, that even Grimwood's story, with which Mr. Ibid. p.
 * 241.
 Fox's enemies make so great a flourish, was true. But of
 late, the esteem of this learned man and his great work is Strype's
 Life of Abp.
 grown very low, especially among some of the Clergy: Whitgift,
 p. 255.
 which seems owing, in a great measure, to the unhappy
 divisions among us, about the discipline, rites, and cere-
 monies of the Church. This is intimated by a late mar- Dr. Walk-
 er's At-
 tempt. Pref.
 p. 20.
 tyrologist of another sort; “that the Dissenters pay a
 “known and particular regard to Mr. Fox's Acts and Mo-
 “numents.” Therefore, surely there is a sufficient ground
 for Churchmen to be jealous of them, and not to read
 them; as there is for their neglecting the holy Scriptures,
 and the observation of the Lord's day, because of the
 known and particular regard which Protestant Dissenters
 pay to them.

The Papists were very angry at the publication of this
 history, in which their lies and cruelty were so fully ex-
 posed; and accordingly did all they could to blast the cre-
 dit of both that and its author. They called it Fox's
 Golden Legend, and represented it as a huge fardle of
 most notorious lies and falsehoods. About *two and forty* A. D. 1603.
 years after the publication of this history, F. Parsons pub-
 lished his book, entitled, A Treatise of Three Conversions
 of England, the principal design of which is to expose this
 Church History of Mr. Fox's. In this performance he
 charges Mr. Fox with falsities and impostures, manifest
 foolery and lying, with having a wicked spirit, being guilty
 of tergiversation, using impertinent and ignorant arguments,

shewing a contempt of antiquity, &c. He tells us that Mr. Fox endeavoured to corrupt the acts of old martyrs, nay, that he discrediteth his own martyrs; and, that dirt may not be wanting, he pretends to have found one hundred and twenty lies in less than three leaves of his book.

A. D. 1691.
Athen. Oxon.
vol. i.
col. 592.

Anthony a Wood a great many years after this charged Mr. Fox with “*committing a most egregious falsity*, in “reporting that one Grimwood of Higham in Suffolk died “in a miserable manner, for swearing and bearing false “witness against one John Cooper of Watsam, in the “same county, for which he lost his life.” But this has been shewn not to be so, since there was one Grimwood who did thus die, although Mr. Fox was misled by William Punt in inserting this story in his Martyrology, since what Cooper was tried for, was not his religion, but speaking rebellious words against the Queen.

Strype's
History of
the Reform.
p. * 242.

What our translator is offended with Mr. Fox for is, that in his Martyrology *a Jew is recorded as a martyr, and stands in the midst of some hundreds of Christians on each side.*

Three Con.
p. 3. c. 16.
§. 9, 10.

F. Parsons has taken notice of this very same story, but he had more wit than to reflect on Fox, as putting one who was a martyr for Judaism among Christian martyrs.

Acts and
Mon. vol. ii.
p. 226.

He knew very well, that according to Mr. Fox, this “Jew “had received the Sacrament of Baptism, was converted, “and become a good Christian.” What he blames Mr. Fox for is, his placing this converted Jew among those who suffered for protesting against, and opposing the corruption of the Romish sect.

Hist. Oxon.
lib. ii. p. 137.
c. 1.

As to the following papers, I hope they will be found to have been drawn up with faithfulness and integrity. It is but too true a character that is given by the Oxford antiquarian of Archdeacon Harpsfield, who published a history of Wiclif, that, *partium studio abductus suorum in utilitatem omnia rapuit*. I hope I have not been so unhappy as to split on the same rock. I have endeavoured faithfully to represent things as they really are; and, according to the best light I could get, to write Dr. Wiclif's life as he lived it. His opinions I have taken from his

own writings, and expressed them in his own words: by the favour of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, I had the perusal of Wiclif's Trialogus, and of a volume of MSS. which his Grace had transcribed for his use from the Bodleian Library. His Grace's librarian, the learned Dr. Wilkins, was so kind as himself to copy for me the process of the dispute betwixt the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Wiclif, about the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall. To my faithful friend Dr. Elias Sydal, Canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, I owe the having had the liberty of making use of whatever is in the library of that Church for my purpose. The copy of the collection of Wiclif's English MSS. in C.C.C. in Cambridge, of which I have made so much use, was procured for me by the Reverend Mr. Charles Sheldrake, Fellow of that college. The account of the other MSS. in the libraries at Cambridge, I had by the favour and kind assistance of the Reverend Mr. John Denn, Fellow of the same college. What account I have had of the MSS. in Ireland, I thankfully acknowledge to have received it from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and the Reverend Dr. Howard, Fellow of Trinity College, near Dublin. I have only to add my hearty wish, that the reader may receive as much profit by the perusal of this history, as it has cost me pains and expence to compose it.

November 5th, 1719.

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED BY THE AUTHOR TO AN EDITION OF THE
LIFE OF WICLIF, BEARING DATE MDCCXXIII.

IN my Preface to this History of the Life of Dr. John Wiclif I took notice of the late translation of Varilla's History of Heresy into English with the feigned title of *The pretended Reformers*; and of the Preface to it, which I call a *confused mass of ignorance and scurrility*. This I thought I had reason to do, not only to shew the English reader how much he was imposed on, but to caution my countrymen against giving any countenance to that spirit of bigotry which some men among us are so zealous to restore. It is a very just character which the late learned and ingenious civilian Dr. William King gives of Mr. Varillas: *Above the rest, says he, Mr. Varillas has used his pen with such a partial extravagance, and with so little regard to modesty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profession to chastise his impudence in their public writings, but has also drawn upon him the scorn and indignation of several gentlemen of his own communion; who in a sense of honour and common ingenuity, have taken some pains to lay open the smooth impostor*. Thus did this ingenious author write in 1688. Nor did he only assert, but prove. And could any body now think that in about thirty years both times and men should be so much changed, as that what was before reckoned a vile piece of *impudence and imposture*, should be caressed and admired as a *desirable work*, and the author of it recommended as a *candid and impartial historian*? And yet thus are this romance and the author of

Reflections
upon Mr.
Varillas.

it described by Mr. Prefacer. *I will venture to say*, says he, *this author*, viz. Varillas, *has made no small progress in such a desirable work*, viz. representing the bigoted Papist on the one hand, and the latitudinarian Protestant on the other, in their proper colours, with more candour than those can justly boast of, who fondly call themselves impartial historians.

My thus detecting the fraud and exposing the imposture of the translator, (whom, I confess, I took to be the same with the writer of the Preface,) has, it seems, exceedingly provoked Mr. Prefacer; insomuch that in the Weekly Journal of October 28, 1721, (a paper fit for such a rude advertisement,) I am threatened by him with a *serious whipping* hereafter, and in the mean time have what he calls a *short correction* given me: *short* indeed in this respect, that it entirely misses its aim.

Instead of shewing that I accused him wrongfully in calling his Preface *a mass of ignorance and scurrility*, which I still think it to be, he goes about to shew the falsehood of what I never charged him with, and about which he says not one word in all his Preface. But what other could I expect from a man so ignorant and forgetful, as not to know that the late Archbishop of Canterbury was dead several years before I published Dr. Wiclif's life, and accordingly to represent me as *persuading the world his Grace had a veneration for the memory of Wiclif*, when I have not said one word of his Grace?

But, notwithstanding, this pretended *history* and lying *advertisement* is gravely referred to in a marginal note by

Pref. Johan.
de Fordun
Scotichr.
p. 40.

^a Thomas Hearne: who confirms the calumny, by confidently asserting, that Dr. Wiclif was *indeed a rebel*, and

^a The very judicious editor of the Legend of the Antiquities of Glastonbury recommending it as true history, &c. *They who can in earnest believe that Christ himself did then consecrate a church and churchyard to his own glory and the honour of his blessed Mother, are past all confutation by reason, having their minds naturally framed to believe legends.* Bp. Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 17. See History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, published by Thomas Hearne, M. A. p. 12, 19.

an impious man; which he goes about to prove by giving us out of his *collections* an extract from a book (which he calls a *very rare one*, and says it contains nine sheets, *i. e.* eight sheets and a half) entitled, *The uncasing of Heresy, or the Anatomy of Protestancy, written and composed by M. O. cum Licentia Superiorum*. But if I may trust to my copy, which is said to have been printed anno DCXXIII, for 1623, it was written and composed by O. A. who had the confidence to dedicate it *To the Right Worshipful Doctors; to the Worshipful Masters; and to the worthy Students of the University of Oxford*. Of what credit this author is, whom Mr. Hearne is pleased to make use of as a voucher to abuse the memory of that worthy confessor Dr. Wiclif, may be concluded from hence; that he tells his readers, that *the chief Doctors of Protestancy teach a plurality of Gods; that Christ is not omnipotent, nor able to do many things; and that he cannot be adored without idolatry: that he was subject to ignorance and vicious affections: that God does not only permit, but force men to sin; and that howsoever God affirms that he would have all men saved, yet he never meant so.*

Who will now wonder at any thing said by this Rabshakeh? And indeed his account of Dr. Wiclif is as false and full of forgery as what he has here said of the Protestant Divines. Not to mention his servile following of others, and licking up *their* vomit, in direct contradiction to all others; he condemns Dr. Wiclif for allowing that ^{p. 25.} *all oaths are lawful which are used to confirm bargains and contracts*. He has likewise the forehead to tell us, that *Matthew Hoe*, ^b *Pantaleon*, ^c *Vadianus Zuinglianus*, all famous Protestants, *repute him for a heretic; and others, viz. Fox, Stowe, Melancthon, for a traitor*. Mr. Hearne, as living in Oxford, has an opportunity of seeing with his own eyes whether these things are so. As for me, I have been assured by a learned man of that famous University, who, at the commands of a Right Reverend Prelate, searched those books for me, that in Joach. Va-

^b Henry Pantaleon.

^c Joachimus Vadianus.

dianus, and Henry Pantaleon, there occurred nothing to this purpose! That Matth. Hoe's words are as follows:

De Disputat. Theol. Instituend. p. 26, 27.

Quoties maximi momenti hæresis Ariana in scenam disputationis profertur? Quoties Aetiani, Eunomiani, Anomæi, Macedoniani, &c.—producuntur? Mox Priscillianistæ, crebro Pelagiani—memorantur. Ab illis Heluidiani—recensentur: ne dicam de nostrorum temporum sectis, de Wiclefianis, Hussitis, Anabaptistis, Iconomachis, Flacianis, Calvinianis, Sacramentariis, Stenekfeldianis, Papistis, Jesuitis, aliisque *monstrosissimis Monstris*, quorum continua et perpetua in disputationibus fieri solet mentio.

John Fox is so far from reputed Wiclif a traitor, that he vindicates him from that calumny.

Collier's Eccles. History, vol. i. p. 572. coll. 2.

None of our historians that I have seen accuse Wiclif of rebellion, or represent him as a traitor. On the contrary, it is well known that he was a learned and stout defender of the *Regale*, and that there is not the least proof of his holding any correspondence, or being at all concerned with those rebels which gave so much disturbance to the government in his time.

The learned Melancthon indeed says of Wiclif, that *de dominio civili sophisticè et plane seditiose rixatur*: but this seems somewhat different from *reputing him a traitor*. The late writer of Chaucer's life is more just to the memory of this learned and useful man. "As soon as this rebellion, viz. of Straw, Tyler, Littester, &c. was somewhat abated, the Parliament began to inquire into the cause of it: nor were there wanting enemies of Wiclif who charged him and his followers with being the encouragers of it: but that is unlikely to be true; for had the rebels been Wiclif's friends, they would never have burnt the Savoy, the palace of his patron the Duke of Lancaster." To the same purpose the learned Bishop Andrews. *Calumnia est de Wiclefo. Wiclefo enim hæc (ut et aliæ pleræque) afficta est opinio.* [corrigi posse Dominos per populares]—*Ex facto ferre licet sententiam. Wiclefus in Dominos incidit qui in mortali peccato, neque intulit tamen eis manus, sed nec inferendas censuit.* But it

Ad C. Belarmini Apologiam Respon. p. 299.

is sad to see how this calumny of *King-killers* is thrown about; *Papists* accuse all *Protestants* of it; and *Protestants* are so weak as to own the accusation, by charging one another with it.

To return to Mr. Prefacer, I beg leave to put him in mind, 1. That it was Antony a Wood, and not *he*, who charged Mr. Fox with *committing a most egregious falsity* in relation to Grimwood. 2. That I have no where asserted that Grimwood died infamously in his harvest with a bursting forth of his bowels. 3. That I have not supported the story with affirming it to be true. 4. That therefore, could he make it appear never so plain that Mr. Fox has told this story falsely, this would be no evidence at all of the falsehood of what I charged *him* with in relation to Dr. Wiclif, concerning whom he has published the following base and false assertions.

Ath. Oxon.
vol. i. ver.
Herbert
Morgan,
coll. 592.

1. *Wiclif's cause was first patronized by one who was a secret rebel, and endeavoured to be a vile usurper, and by an^d whore.* Pref. p. 7, 8.

2. *The first motive in Wiclif to reform was revenge for the loss of a^e bishopric.—The man's disappointment made him rail against Prelacy itself, because he could not arrive at the honour.* Ibid. p. 7, 8.

3. *The same spirit which began Wiclif's reformation animated his followers after his death to rebel under Sir John Oldcastle.* Ibid. p. 8.

4. *He, Wiclif, went on through all his conduct with evident signs of being a wicked man.* Ibid. p. 9.

5. *Wiclif's notions were wicked and abominable—His religion was chiefly supported by two main pillars, viz. sacrilege and rebellion.* Ibid. p. 12.

6. *He, Wiclif, taught that endowing churches was pa-* Ibid. p. 12.

^d The Lady Alice Pierce, whom the King entirely loved, not as a mistress, (as some have maliciously asserted,) but because she had been Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Queen, and a great favourite with her. *Life of Chaucer*, p. 7.

^e These suggestions seem to proceed from disaffection, and are not much to be regarded. *Collier's Eccles. History*, vol. i. p. 582. coll. 2. See Dr. King's *Reflections upon Varillas*, p. 409, 410.

ganism, and that temporal lords might subtract whatever was given to such superstitious purposes.

Ibid. p. 27.

7. *The very same Articles, in number forty-five, [condemned by the Council of Constance] were acknowledged ever after as Wiclif's, and publicly maintained by ^f Huss and Jerome.*

Ibid. p. 27.

8. *§ John Woodford was commanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to oppugn eighteen Errors of John Wiclif, taken out of his Trialogue.*

Ibid. p. 28.

9. *Wiclif's friends have nothing to allege on their side, but ^h positive assertions without the least shadow of proof.*

10. Page 11. The Prefacer calls that glorious Prince King Edward III. a fool, *to let such a poisonous weed as Wiclif grow.*

11. Page 33. He reflects on Sir ⁱ Henry Spelman as *suppressing Wiclif's recantation.*

These are assertions which Mr. Prefacer is obliged to prove, if he does not care to lie under the imputation of being a false and a scurrilous writer.

Lastly, I beg the favour of his telling the world, at his leisure hours, who Wingeon is, to whom he refers, p. 33; because, so far as I can hitherto find, he is an author unknown to every body but to Varillas and himself.

^f Non tamen omnia Wickleffi dogmata approbavit Joannes Hus, tametsi Wiclefi animam in cœlis esse dixisse fertur. *Luc. Osiander. Epit. Hist. Eccles.* p. 440.

^g Gulielmus Widofofordus. *Leland de Script. Brit.* p. 402. Wilhelmus Woodfordus, *Fascic. Rerum*, vol. i. p. 190.

^h Nusquam enim in operibus ejus reperta quæ manuscripta apud nos sunt: edenda merito in lucem, ut hæc, ut aliæ non paucae calumniæ diluantur. *Ep. Andrews ad Card. Bellar. Apologiam Responsio*, p. 299. We have as many of the works of Wiclif yet extant, as (if printed together) would make four or five volumes in folio. *Ant. Harmar's Specimen*, &c. p. 16.

ⁱ As for that accurate and honoured collector Sir H. Spelman, as this is the first time he has ever been accused of *falsifying*, so his confident accuser could not do it, without giving matter to any examining reader of returning the charge, and convicting him of his own calumny. *Dr. King's Reflect.* p. 451.

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

DR. JOHN WICLIF.

Henricus de Knyghton Canonicus Leycestrensis.

IN istis temporibus floruit Magister Joannes Wyclif Rector Ecclesiæ de Lutterworth in comitatu Leycestriæ, Doctor in Theologia eminentissimus in diebus illis. In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scolasticis disciplinis incomparabilis. Hic maxime nitebatur aliorum ingenia subtilitate scientiæ et profunditate ingenii sui transcendere, et ab opinionibus eorum variare.—Magister eorum Wyclif potens erat et validus in disputationibus super cæteros; et in argumentis nulli credebatur secundus.

Thomas Waldenus.

Joannes Kylingham admiratur in Wiclefo doctrinæ excellentiam.

Anonymi Chronicon Godstovianum.

Hoc etiam tempore [A. D. 1376.] viguit in Universitate Oxoniensi Magister Johannes Wycliffe secularis Doctor in Theologia, qui errores et opiniones hæreticas in populo, ut dicebatur, prædicabat.

Thomas Gascoigne.

Iste Johannes Wycliff, secularis Doctor in Theologia et Anglicus non fidei Catholice, obiit in villa de Lutterworth in Anglia Lincoln. Dioces. A. D. 1384 in die S. Sylvestri.

Thomas Sprottus.

Tunc temporis [anno 1377] Joannes Wyckliff duxit populum in errorem.

Polidor. Vergilius.

Fuere ea tempestate viri longe sanctissimi, multo doctissimi atque fortissimi, quorum supra mentionem apposite fecimus, idcirco nihil est quod de eis rursum commemoremus. Extitere et aliqui insigni infamia, quorum caput et princeps fuit Joannes Vuythclyffus: is, ut fama est, a primo indignatus quod non potuisset ad summos sacerdotalis ordinis aspirare honores, factus inde sacerdotibus cunctis inimicior, cœpit divina scripta perverse interpretari, atque novam instituere sectam, usque eo ut in nobili Oxoniensi gymnasio publice sit in sacerdotes ut legis eversores debacchatus. Et ut impune tantum facinoris fautore pariter atque audacia armatus faceret, Regi ante omnes summum in cunctos ordinis præfectos imperium jusque tribuit. Præterea homo nocendi cupidus, certum habens non facile viros doctos veneno infici, utpote qui rationes admittunt, cogitavit imperitum vulgus in suam imprimis sectam sibi trahendum, quod ille pertinacius solebat, id quod semel imbiberit modis omnibus retinere. Non contentus itaque implevisse codices Latine scriptos de sua hæresi, etiam ex illis commentarios patria lingua conscriptos fecit, atque protinus edidit, ut etiam agrestes maleficæ superstitionis peritos redderet. Certe eum non fefellit sua opinio: ii namque commentarii quamvis breves, longo tempore durarunt, ut etiam nunc e manibus plebis auferri nequeant, tametsi ob id scelus nonnulli vivi interdum comburuntur cum suis libellis. Ad extremum homo nimium confidens, cum rationibus veris cogere-tur ab bonam redire frugem, tantum abfuit ut pareret, ut etiam maluerit voluntarium petere exilium quam mutare sententiam; qui ad Boëmos nonnulla hæresi ante inquinatos profectus, a rudi gente magno in honore habetur, quam pro accepto beneficio confirmavit, summeque hortatus est in ea remanere sententia ut ordini sacerdotali parum honoris, et ad Romanum Pontificem nullum respectum haberet.

John Leland.

Joannes Wicoclivus, vir magno et excellenti plane ingenio præ-

ditus, in collegio — quod Isiaci celeberrimum est, omnes eruditae artes tanta cum felicitate perdidicit, quanta sui temporis nemo facile alius. Nam in philosophia illa scholastica, acuminis ostentatrice, principem locum obtinebat: tum praeterea in theologiae recessus penitiores, et sacrosanctos quidem illos, tam alte descenderat, ut a theologorum vulgo pro deo tantum non habitus sit: quo tandem calculo, summis honoribus et insignibus, quae in eruditos Academia conferre solet, donatus est. Ille vero ut se vidit ejusmodi auctum titulis, suamque tanti in scholis esse auctoritatem, ut omnia quae doceret, tanquam e tripode dicta, crederentur; primum fraterculorum mendicitatem cute tenus stringere coepit; nec multo post altis plagis vulnerare. Ut tamen bona pars scholasticorum in hominem adfecta erat, ad haec praeludia connivebat. Deinde in publicis praelectionibus, atque alias privatim, vellicabat Romani Pontificis astum, avaritiam, ambitionem, et tyrannidem; sic putans futurum, ut Christiana Ecclesia, cognitis erroribus, resipisceret. O factum bene! si intra hos prudens se continuisset limites.

Publica fama est illum postea perperam de Eucharistia sensisse, aliaque virulenta dogmata domi potius chartis inscripsisse, quam in concionibus pronunciasse. Quid tamen de hac re Tinensis monasterii annales sentiant, in medium adducam: “Vicoclivus, Doctor Theologiae, incepit docere errores suos A. D. 1376. Fuit ille annus ultimus imperii Edovardi a Gulielmo Magno tertii.” Haec ille. At non possum his verbis elicere an ejus de Eucharistia errores, an de aliis ritibus Ecclesiae adprime necessariis, intellexerit. Illud certe in animum inducere non possum, illum sub tam severis iudiciis, eo seculo, potuisse impune quicquam in Sacramentum Altaris dicere: Impunitum vero illum non modo Isiacum reliquisse constat, verum etiam sacerdotio non contemnendo munifice donatum, Luterovortum, Ligerianae provinciae emporiolum petiisse; ubi, exactis quiete paucis annis, fato functus est et sepultus. Chronicon Tinense testatur his verbis paralyzin eum cita morte abstulisse: “Anno octavo Richardi secundi, die S. Thomae Martyris Vuiclif per omnia membra tactus est paralyti; die autem S. Sylvestri obiit.”

Quid hic respondebo vanissimis Polydori Vergilii vanitatibus, qui Edovardo a Gulielmo Magno tertio, disertis et accuratis verbis asserit Vicoclivum, ut alia somnia praeteream, volunta-

rium exilium petiisse, ac magno postea apud Boëmos in pretio fuisse? Certe non aliud, quam ut historiæ suæ telam nodosam, impexam, impeditam, confusam, denique informem retexat: nam aliter qui possit honestam operi tam malis avibus incepto faciem inducere, mehercule non satis video; quamvis suas Italicas cristas attollat.

Nil hic amplius mihi cum Polydoro, quandoquidem lector expectat, ut consueto more meo autorem ab editis libris notio- rem reddam: id quod facile facere non possum. Quis enim nescit Pontifices Romanos in omnes ejus lucubrationes dira execrationum fulmina contorsisse? Usque adeo, ut plus quam capitale senserint vel gru quidem a Vulcano liberum servare. Non defuerunt tamen, qui confidentissime Vicoclivii libros sibi retinebant, et in varia exemplaria transcribi curabant. Unde factum est, ut non modo in Britannia nostra, verum et in Germania, etiam nunc legantur. Quamquam, ut casus tulit, ego plane ex multis paucos vidi. Vidi autem de Rebus Sophisticis 3 libellos, opusculum de Mandatis, item aliud de Legibus et Veneno, de Paupertate Christi, de Cœna Domini; in quo opere non defuerunt qui putarent illum subscripsisse errori nescio cujus Ambrosii Ausberti. Insuper memini me aliquando incidisse in ejus Triologum, et librum de Realibus Universalibus, cujus mentionem facit Æneas Silvius 35. cap. Historiæ Bohemicæ. Multa præterea scripsisse fertur et Latino sermone et vernaculo, quæ a quibusdam vel hac nostra ætate cum religiose servantur tum leguntur, et præsertim illa vernacula in plebis gratiam scripta.

De ejus libris quod ultra scribam non habeo; ut neque an digni sint, qui a Christianæ religionis veris cultoribus perlegantur. Doctorum theologorum in hac re judicium, potius quam nostrum valeat. Ego, quod reliquum est docebo: nempe Bohemos quosdam Isiacum studiorum causa venisse, posteaque in patriam Vicoclivii libros secum transtulisse, quibus ita docti juxta ac indocti delectabantur, ut subito magno schismati, seditioni, tumultibus, denique et bellis fomenta ministrarent. Hinc nata est occasio, ut placita cum provincialis tum generalis Concilii severe decernerent Vicoclivii ossa exhumanda et igni committenda: cujus tragoediæ catastrophem ne hæc quidem nostra ætas vidit; qualis autem futura sit, solus Deus novit, cui Vicoclivum judicandum relinquo.

Joannes Bale Ep. Ossoriensis, 1552.

Præter vitam quam vere Apostolicam Vuiclevus duxit, ingenio, facundia, atque eruditione multiplici, omnes in Anglia commilitones longo intervallo superabat. Unde ipsum æternus Pater, anno post Servatorem natum 1360, per suum Spiritum suscitavit, ut in mediis errorum tenebris, ac locustarum Tartararum seu hypocritarum obsurationibus, pro sua veritate staret, magnanimus Christi pugil; fieretque adversus ejus infestissimos hostes, Antichristos, insuperabilis Ecclesiæ columna.

Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, 1554.

Ingenio sane fuit acri atque acuto, sed nimis vehementi atque populari.

Lucas Osiander.

Anno Christi 1370 Joannes Wiclef in Anglia multa scribere cœpit contra Pontificia dogmata: ideoque inter Hæresiarchas numeratus est; non tamen per omnia sincerus.—Fuit in Anglia circa A. D. 1383 vir quidam doctus Jo. Wicleff, theologus et Ecclesiæ pastor, qui non tantum vitiosos mores et scelera Pontificum Romanorum et Cleri Pontificii (ut alii boni viri dudum antea fecerunt) taxavit; sed ipsam etiam doctrinam Pontificiam et multos errores Pontificiorum reprehendit, et Verbo Dei contraria esse scriptis suis publicis demonstravit. Qui tamen ejus libri non per omnia sunt puri, non enim habuit tum coætaneos qui potuissent eum (sicubi longius extra metas progressus fuisset) fraterne admonere.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Joannes Wicliffe Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, et Ecclesiæ parochialis de Lutterworth in Leycestriæ comitatu Rector, multa in Romanam Curiam, consuetudinemque Oxonii disputavit, eadem e suggestu coram populo ac proceribus sæpe prædicavit. Huic Lancastriæ Dux, et e plebe permulti adhærere cœperunt. Gregorius autem Papa veritus ne ejus suasionem Angli deficerent; ad Regem, Archiepiscopum, Episcopos et Oxoniensis Academiæ Cancellarium acriter scripsit, ut eum aut coercerent, aut prorsus abscinderent.

Lanquette's Chronicle continued by William Cooper.

Witcliffe about this time [1366] was famous in Englande : who for speaking against the usurped power of the Romaine Bishop, and other enormities then accustomed in the Church, was called an hereticke.

Carionis Chronicon.

Initium disputationum harum [de tyrannide Pontificia ; avaritia, luxu, superbia sacerdotum ; de votis, impuro cœlibatu, &c.] fecerat paulo ante Wicleffus in Anglia circiter annum 1372.

Joannis Funcii Chronologia.

A. D. 1368. Joannes Wicleffus circa hæc tempora in Anglia Papatum falsitatis convincit.

Henrici Gutberti Chronologia.

Joannes Wicleffus Anglus circa annum Christi 1370, mores Pontificis et Pontificiæ Ecclesiæ dogmata graviter reprehendit, atque adeo ipsum Pontificem Antichristum appellare ausus est. Quamobrem publice in Schola Oxoniensi hæresiarcha est proclamatus. Dogma ejus præcipuum fuit, *Extra Biblia in rebus spiritualibus non esse quærendam veritatem.*

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Wiclef was a singular instrument of God in his time to set forth the truth of Christ's Gospel. But Antichrist, that sitteth in God's temple boasting himself as God, hath by God's sufferance prevailed against many holy men, and sucked the blood of martyrs these last years.

Ranulph Higden.

About this time, A. D. 1394, was that cursed heresie of Johan Wyclyfe in England — which heresie infected moche people. And under the habit of a lambe hydyng wolvyshe crueltee haad purposed to subverte all the state of the Church. And the sclaunderous scysme whiche was in this evyll tyme was a greate helpe and socoure too them.

Fabian.

In this yere, 8 Ric. II. about this time began the heresy of John Wyckliffe in England, the which was greatly avaunced by mean of the scisme in the Church hanging at those dayes betweene twoo Popes sytting at ones.

Jean Crispin.

Wicleff commence l'aube du jour la predication de l'Evangile. Jean Wicleff Anglois homme de grand esprit florissoit en ce temps : et commença de tirer, comme d'une nuit profonde, la verité de la doctrine du Fils de Dieu. Il avoit estudié en l'Université d'Oxone, et estoit parvenu à tel degré d'erudition qu'il estoit estimé le plus excellent entre les theologiens. En ses leçons avec la pureté de la doctrine qu'il enseignoit il touchoit aussi vivement les abus de la Papalité tellement que les locustes, assavoir les moins mendians, s'eleverent contre luy : mais le Seigneur luy donna pour protecteur le Roy Edouard du regne duquel il eut asses grand liberté en sa profession. Richard, successeur du dict Edouard, le persecute et le bannit : mais comme un vray champion du Seigneur, il demeura toujours constant jusques à la mort : Ses Conclusions, ses livres, et sa doctrine demonstrent les dons et graces que Dieu luy avoit conferées.

John Speed.

If we cast our eie on the Reformed Churches in Christendome, and with them on Luther, Husse, and Jerome of Prague, they will all confesse they first took their light from the learned Wicliffe of Oxford : the lampe of whose sacred knowledge hath illumined not only all the corners of this kingdom, but also all those foreign states whom it hath pleased God to deliver from the thraldom and vengeance of Babylon.— Many lewd opinions, by misconstruction, (as his books yet extant evince,) are fathered upon him.

Johannes Forbesius.

Orthodoxam Catholicæ antiquitatis doctrinam [de cultu imaginum] defendit in Anglia Joannes Wiclif circa annum Domini 1372.— proximo post Innocentium seculo, illud [decretum

Lateranense de Transubstantiatione] oppugnavit Joannes Wiclif.

Thomas Brightman.

Hi tres sunt Angeli quorum primus illi celebres viri fuerunt qui circiter annum 1300 exorti sunt: Ockamus, Marsilius Patavinus, Joannes de Ganduno, Arnoldes de Villa Nova, Dantes, Petrarcha, ac imprimis Joannes Wiclefus Anglicus, cujus uberior erat doctrina quam reliquorum, altiusque penetravit et eas radices egit, ut nunquam ab eo tempore potuerit extirpari.

John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury.

As for John Wickleffe, John Husse, Valdo and the rest, for ought *I* know, and I believe, setting malice aside, for ought *you* know, they were godly men. Their greatest heresy was this, that they complained of the dissolute and vicious lives of the Clergy, of worshipping images, of feigned miracles, of the tyrannical pride of the Pope, of Monks, Friars, pardons, pilgrimages and purgatory, and other like deceiving and mocking of the people; and that they wished a reformation of the Church.

William Camden.

Hujus [emporio Lutterworth] Ecclesiam rexit ille celeberrimus Joannes Wicliffe; vir ingenio subacto, et sacris literis versatissimus, qui cum calamum in Pontificiam auctoritatem, et Romanam Ecclesiam strinxisset, non solum gravissime exagitatus erat dum viveret: sed etiam anno post mortem quadragesimo primo in corpus sævitum fuit, quod Senensis Concilii mandato exhumatum erat et exustum.

Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely, 1610.

Multa de Wiclefo mentitur Waldensis—more Lyncei inquisitores vestri videre sibi videntur quæ præter eos nemo (invidia scilicet oculorum aciem, ut fit, adjuvante) nusquam enim in operibus ejus reperta, quæ manuscripta apud nos sunt; edenda merito in lucem, ut hæc, ut aliæ non paucae calumniæ diluantur.

John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury.

And yet during that degeneracy of so great a part of the Christian Church, and the prevalency of Antichrist for so many

ages, some few in every age did appear who did resolutely own the truth, and bear witness to it with their blood : but these did almost stand alone and by themselves, like a few scattered sheep, wandering up and down in a wide wilderness. Thus, in the height of Popery, Wicliffe appeared here in England ; and Hierome of Prague, and John Huss in Germany and Bohemia.

Anthony a Wood.

Johannes de Wickliffe, vel Wycleve, exercitatissimus fuit philosophus, et clarissimus theologus ; excellentis et plane divini ingenii, immensa et pene innumera doctrinæ monumenta post se reliquit.

Johannes Cluverius.

Illis temporibus [A. D. 1369.] Joannes Taulerus interioris sapientiæ præco, et Joannes Wiclefus Anglus liberioris puriorisque Theologiæ Doctor, Pontificiæ superstitionis subversor, Franciscus Petrarcha melioris literaturæ instaurator enituere.

Henry Wharton, Vicar of Minster in the Isle of Thanet.

Joannes Wiclefus natione Anglus, in septentrionali insulæ parte natus, Oxonii in Collegio Mertonensi educatus, cujus primum Scholaris, dein Socius fuit, Collegii Cantuariensis ac Baniolensis præfecturæ tandem admotus : philosophus insignis, theologus omnibus numeris consummatissimus ; nec minus vitæ sanctimonia et morum castitate, quam doctrina eximius. Theologiam scholasticam ad unguem edoctus, imprimis vero Occami, Lincolniensis, atque Armachani studiosus lector ; postquam Doctoratus insignia tulisset, Theologiam in Academia Oxoniensi publice professus est ; demum Ecclesiæ de Lutterworth in provincia Lecestrensi Rector factus.

Lawrence Echard, Archdeacon of Stow.

About this time [1377] the famous Dr. John Wicliffe, a man of an acute wit, profound learning, and great judgment, publicly maintained several material points and propositions, in the University of Oxford, against the Church of Rome ; particularly against the Pope's supremacy, the infallibility of the Church, and transubstantiation.

William King, LL. D.

— It was his [Wiclif's] great esteem for the holy Scriptures, of which his translation still remains a memorable instance; his right notion of the blessed Eucharist; the opposition he made to the encroaching mendicants in behalf of the secular Clergy; not to mention his confessed excellencies in polemic divinity and philosophy, with a strictness of life which his acquaintance revered, which his adversaries, amongst all their accusations, have never pretended to call in question, and which engaged in his favour the major part of the University where he lived, and particularly the Chancellor and both the Proctors of the year 1382.—The diligent ^a Dr. Thomas James may be consulted by the curious — till some generous pen shall appear more fully in the cause of Wicliff, and do justice to so eminent a confessor.

Dr. White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough.

It would however raise the indignation of an English Churchman to hear Wiclef, the glory of our nation as well as the honour of our mother Oxford, the first discoverer and guide in our blessed Reformation, to hear *him* now, at last, by writers (not yet disowning the name of Protestants) so vilified and abused, as if his ashes were once more to be burnt, and his memory devoted again to Popish execrations. I cannot but wish — that this unchristian liberty of running down our first Reformers would incite some honest Churchman to draw up a fair account of the life and writings of the learned and pious Dr. John Wiclif.

^a An Apology for John Wiclif, &c. Oxford, 1608.

THE
LIFE
OF
DR. JOHN WICLIF.

CHAP. I.

Of the place of Dr. Wiclif's birth; his going to Oxford; his disputing against the Friars in behalf of the University, and concerning the poverty of Christ: he is made Master of Balliol College, and Warden of Canterbury Hall, and is removed from the latter by the Sentence of the Pope.

JOHN de Wiclif was born, very probably, about the year 1324, in the parish of Wiclif^a near Richmond, in York-
shire. Being bred to learning, he was sent to the University of Oxford, and was first admitted Commoner of Queen's College, then newly founded by Robert Eggesfield, S. T. B. but was soon after removed to Merton College, where he was first Probationer, and afterwards Fellow. This College was then the most famous seminary of great and learned men in the whole University: for of it were, about this time, the following men of note and eminency. 1. Walter Burley, who flourished A. D. 1330, and was called the *Plain Doctor*; for his excellent learning

CHAP.
I.

Leland de
Scriptor.
Brit. p. 378.
Mar. Note.
A. D. 1340.
Not. Oxon.
p. 62.

Cave's Hist.
Liter. App.
p. 32.

^a Wiclif, a mean gentelman, dwellith at a little village caullid Wicklif.

[They] sey that John Wiclif Hæreticus [was borne at Spreswel, a poore village a good myle from Richemont.] *The Itinerary of John Leland*, vol. v. edit. Oxford. 1711. p. 99.

- CHAP. I. he was made Preceptor to King Edward III. 2. William Occham, who was called the *Singular Doctor*, and the *Venerable Inceptor*. 3. Thomas Bradwardine, A. D. 1349, who was called the *Profound Doctor*: he was by Archbishop Stratford called to Court, where he was made Confessor to the King, Canon of Lichfield, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's; and after the Archbishop's death, his successor in the see of Canterbury.
- Ibid. p. 355. 4. John Gatesden, or English, who in 1320 was had in great reputation for his skill in physic. 5. John Dumbleton, who flourished 1320. 6. John Estwood, who was famous for his skill in astronomy, 1360. 7. Roger Suicet, the author of the Art of Reckoning about the year 1370.
- Ibid. p. 332. 8. Simon Mepham, Canon of Chichester, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1330. 9. Simon Islip, Canon of Lincoln, Lord Privy Seal, and Secretary to the King, and afterwards in the year 1349 promoted to the see of Canterbury. 10. William Rede, a noted mathematician, who published Astronomical Tables, and built the Library at Merton College, and was Bishop of Chichester, 1369.
- Leland de Script. Brit. p. 323.
- Stephen de Birching-ton de Vitis Archiep. p. 43.
- Leland de Script. Brit. p. 352.

Of this College, thus noted for learned men, was our John de Wiclif, who soon came to be taken notice of, and distinguished for his excellent parts and vast application, which was such, that he is said to have gotten by heart all the most intricate parts of Aristotle; and afterwards, when he applied himself to the study of divinity, to have made himself master of all the niceties of the Schoolmen. By these means he came to be reckoned inferior to none of his time in philosophy, and incomparable in the performance of school exercises: a man of a profound wit, and very strong and powerful in disputations, and was by the common sort of divines esteemed little less than a god.

Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, Col. 2644.

Leland de Script. Brit. p. 379.

To these acquisitions of school learning, Wiclif added the study of the civil and canon law, and of our own municipal laws, in all which his writings shew him to have been very well versed. But that which seems to have been his favourite study and chief delight, is the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Of these he was a very diligent

student; he wrote notes and expositions, and homilies on several parts of them, and translated them into English; for which reason he seems to have had given him the title of *Doctor Evangelicus*, or the *Gospel Doctor*. Next to the Scriptures, he seems to have studied most the four Fathers of the Latin Church *, whom he often quotes and refers to in his writings. St. Austin, in particular, he calls *his* Austin, and says of him, that, "except the Gospel, there is "no one besides him to whom we are to believe." He was likewise a great admirer of Robert Grossthead, Bishop of Lincoln 1235, whom he often quotes in his writings by the name of *Lincolniensis*: as likewise of Richard Fitzralph, whom he calls *Armachanus*, formerly Chancellor of Oxford, and Professor of Divinity there, and Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland about 1347. These learned writers Mr. Wiclif often quotes, and makes great use of their arguments and authority in his disputes with the Friars Mendicant, and against the papal encroachments here in England. Such was the character of Mr. Wiclif in the University.

CHAP.
I.

* St. Austin,
St. Jerome,
St. Am-
brose, St.
Gregory.
Coll.No.21.

The covetous exactions of the Popes were at this time got to a very great height, insomuch that nothing was to be done at the Court of Rome but by the influence of money, with which in a manner all church benefices were now purchased. To expose these corrupt and simoniacal practices, which tended quite to destroy the purity of the Christian worship and discipline, Mr. Wiclif wrote a short tract, which he entitled, *Of the last Age of the Church*. In this little book he shews the ill consequences of these detestable practices, and how much God is provoked by them to take vengeance on those who are guilty of them. "Bothe "venjaunce of swerde," saith he, "and myscheifs un- "knowne bifore, bi whiche men thes daies schulde be pu- "nysched, schule falle for synne of prestis. Men schal "fall on them, and cast hem out of her fatte beneficis, and "thei schal seie, 'he came into his benefice by his kyn- "rede, thes bi covenant maad bifore, he for his servyse, "and thes for moneye came into Goddis Chirche." Thane

A. D. 1356.

CHAP. I. “schal eche suche prest crye; ‘Alas! alas! that no good spirit dwellid with me at my comynge into Goddis Chirche.” For this prediction Mr. Wiclif quotes the Abbat Joachim’s book, Of the Seedis of Profetis, &c. St. Bernard, The Verses of the Sybils, &c.

A. D. 1360. It was not long after this, that Mr. Wiclif was promoted to be Warden or Master of Balliol Hall, as it was

A. D. 1361. then called, in Oxford. For in 1361, on the death of the Rector of the parish church of Abbodesle, in the diocese of Lincoln, and archdeaconry of Huntingdon, he is said to have exhibited to John Gynwell, then Bishop of that diocese, the Pope’s bull for uniting that church^b, which had been lately given by Sir William Felton to that Hall, to its eleemosynary and proper use. The Bull recites, “that Pope Clement had been petitioned by the Clerks and Scholars of Balliol Hall, who had represented to his Holiness, that by the devout bounty and alms of their Founder, there were a great many Students and Clerks in the said Hall, and that every of them had anciently received only — pence a week, and when they had taken their degree of Master of Arts, were immediately expelled the said Hall, so that they could not, by reason of their poverty, make any progress in other studies, but sometimes were forced, for the sake of a livelihood, to follow some mechanic employment: that Sir William de Felton, having compassion on them, desired to augment the number of the said Scholars, and to ordain, that they should have, in common, books of diverse faculties, and that every one of them should receive sufficient clothing, and twelve pence every week, and that they might freely remain in the said Hall, whether they took their Master’s or Doctor’s degree or no, until they had got a competent ecclesiastical benefice, and then should leave the Hall, &c.”

^b *Memorand.* Quod nuper defuncto — rectore ecclesiæ parochialis de Abbodesle, Linco. dioc. in archidiacon. Hunt. venit Magister Joh. de Wyclif tunc Custos seu Magister Aule de Balliol, Oxon. et exhibuit Venera. Patri Domino Johanni Lincol. Episcopo literas Apostolicas, &c. *Reg. Gynwell*, MS. fol. 367, 368.

The same Register informs us, that at the beginning of this same year^c, the Master and Scholars of Balliol Hall presented Mr. John Wiclif, Presbyter, to the Church of Fylingham, in the archdeaconry of Stow, vacant by the death of John Reyner.

About this time likewise he was much taken notice of, for his taking the part of the University, against the opposition and encroachments made by the begging Friars, who had ever since their first settlement in Oxford, A. D. 1230, been very troublesome, and made it their business to disturb the Chancellor and Scholars, by breaking in upon their statutes and privileges, and setting up an exempt jurisdiction. By one of the statutes of the University it was ordered, "That nobody should proceed Doctor in Divinity, unless he had been before a Regent in Arts, either in that or some other University." Of this the preaching Friars complained, as bearing hard upon them, and to their prejudice. They laboured therefore very earnestly to have this statute repealed, and to be exempted themselves from the performance of the University exercises. For this purpose they appealed to the Pope, petitioned the King, and insulted the Chancellor, Proctors, and Regents of the University; treating them with all imaginable contempt, and doing all they could to stir up the Scholars to be seditious and troublesome.

Not content with this, they took all opportunities to entice the youth from the colleges into their convents: inso-much, that people were afraid of sending their children to the University, lest they should be kidnapped by the Friars. By which means the number of students was so far decreased, that whereas they had been thirty thousand, they were not in 1357 above six thousand. This obliged the Chancellor and Regents to make a statute, that "none should be received by the Friars into their orders till they had attained to the age of eighteen." But notwith-

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1360.

Antiq. Oxon. p. 83,
96, 150,
154, 155.

Armachan.
Defensor.
Curator.

^c Magister Joh. Wycliffe presbyter presenta. per Magist. et Scholares Aule de Baliol Oxon. ad Eccle. de Fylingham, vac. per mort. Joh. Reyner, 11 Id. May 1361. in Archi. Stow.

CHAP. I. standing, the Friars, by their money and interest at the Court of Rome, frequently procured dispensations to be exempted from the force of these statutes: so that the dispute betwixt the University and them continued till the year 1366, when the matter being brought before the

Cotton's A-bridgment,
p. 102.

Parliament, it was ordered, "That as well the Chancellor and Scholars, as the Friars of those Orders in the Universities, should in all graces, and other school exercises, use each other in friendly-wise, without any rumour as before: and that none of these Orders should receive any scholar into their said Orders, being under the age of eighteen years: that the Friars should take no advantage, nor procure any Bull, or any other process from Rome against the Universities, or proceed therein: and that the King have power to redress all controversies between them from henceforth, and the offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the King and of his Council." But to shew how little the Friars regarded the civil authority, notwithstanding this determination of the Parliament, about nine years after a Bull was procured, by the instance of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, in their behalf, to dispense with the statute of the University, requiring persons to be Regents in Arts before they proceeded Doctors in Divinity.

Antiq. Oxon. p. 181.

But now another dispute arose betwixt the Religious and the Members of the University. One Roger Conway a Minorite, in a sermon preached at London about 1354, asserted, that the poverty of Christ was such, that neither he nor any of his Apostles had any thing of their own, but possessed all things in common, and that Christ begged for a livelihood. This opinion, invented on purpose to justify the begging trade of the Friars, was first opposed by Richard Kilmyngton, at that time Dean of St. Paul's; who was seconded by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh; who happened to be at London at that time. About A. D. 1360. six years after, the same point being maintained by the Friars at Oxford, they were opposed there by John de Wiclif, John Thoresby, afterwards Archbishop of York,

Ibid. p. 181.

Uthred Bolton, Nicholas Hereford,^c Walter Bryt, or Brytt, of Merton College, and Philip Norris, and others, who with great applause of the hearers answered the Friar's arguments.

Among these, Wiclif seems to have been one of the most earnest and zealous against the usurpations and errors of the Friars. In one of his tracts yet remaining, he thus exposes them for their drawing the youth of the University into their convents. *"Freres,"* says he, *"drawen children fro Christ's religion into their private Order by hypocrisie, lesings and steling. For they tellen that their Order is more holy than any other, and that they shullen have higher degree in the bliss of heaven than other men that ben not therein, and seyn that men of their Order shullen never come to hell, but shullen dome other men with Christ at doomsday. And so they stelen children fro fader and moder, sometime such as ben unable to the Order, and sometime such as shullen susteyn their fader and moder by the commandment of God; and thus they ben blasphemers takin upon full council in *douty things that ben not expressly commanded ne forbidden in holy writ; sith such counsel is appropred to the Holy Gost, and thus they ben therefore cursed of God as the Pharisees were of Christ, to whom he seith thus: Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees that ben writers of Law, and men of singular religion, that compassen about the water and the lond to maken of your religion, and when he is made of your religion, yee maken him double more a child of helle. And sith he that steleth an ox or a cow is damnable by God's law, and man's law also, muckil more he that steleth a man's child that is better than all earthly goods, and draweth him to the less perfitt Order. And though this singular Order were more perfect than Christ's, yet he wot never where it be to damnation of the child, for he wot not to what*

Of Clerk's Possession-ers. MS. c.

9.

* doubtful.

Matt. xxiii.

14.

^c He was afterwards a preacher in the diocese of Hereford, where he met with a good deal of trouble on account of his maintaining Dr. Wiclif's opinions. See Prynne's Animadv. on the 4th part of the Institutes, p. 227.

CHAP. I. *"state God hath ordained him; and so blindly they don
"agenst Christ's ordinance."*

Wiclif
writes a-
gainst the
beggary of
the Friars.

Objections
of Freres.
MS. c. 5.

* labour.

† ought.

Against the other pretence of the Religious, that Christ himself was a beggar, Wiclif wrote and published^d several tracts, thus entitled; Of the Poverty of Christ; Against^e able Beggary; and Of Idleness in Beggary. The design of these tracts seems to have been the same that he pursues in some of his writings which are yet remaining, wherein he shews, that *"Christ lived on alms
"of Mary Magdalen, and other holy men and women—
"without axing or constreyning: Christ had his Apostles
"and Disciples that they should not bere a sachell ne scrip
" (as the begging Friars did to carry to their convents
" what they begged) but look what man is able to hear
" the Gospel, and eat and drink therein, and pass not
" thence, and not pass fro house to house. St. Paul labor-
" ed or travailed with his hands for him, and for men that
" weren with him; and coveted neither gold, ne silver, ne
" clothes of men that he taught, to geve other teachers en-
" sample to do the same in time of nede. St. Paul biddeth
" that men that wilen live in idleness and curiosity, and
" not * traveile, shullen not eat. St. Clement ordained
" that christen men shulden not beg openly; and for to
" put away this begging, St. Austin maketh tweie books
" how Monks † owen to traveile with their hands for their*

^d Anno Domini 1360, Juvenis quidam Anglus scripsit contra Mendicitatem fratrum librum aculeatum, acerrime impugnans eandem non solum scripturis et rationibus, sed etiam in fine per prophetias Hildegardis, Joachimi abbatis, et Cyrilli presbyteri. Quem aliqui putant fuisse Joannem Wiclevum. Liber incipit, Quia omnia communiter omnibus data. *Bale, Script. Brit. Cent. quinta.* p. 448.

^e On this point Mr. Wiclif disputed with a Friar before the Duke of Gloucester, the contents of which disputation he afterwards sent the Duke an account of in writing, thus addressing himself to him: *"Most Worschipfulleste
" and gentilleste Lord Duke of Glowcester, your servant sendeth you disputa-
" cion writen that was bifore you bitwixe a Frere and a Seculer, youre Clerke
" prayinge of both sidis to chese and apreve the trewthe. For as seith our
" bileve, ouer alle thingis vencuschet the trewthe, and, as seith Aristotle, ac-
" cording to our bileve, tweye beinge friendis, it is holy to be for honoure of
" the trewthe. Therefore to you, Lorde, that herd the disputacion be geve the
" style to rubbe away the rust in either partye."*

“liflode.” From all which he concludes, that *“sith open* CHAP. I.
“begging is thus sharply damned in holy writ, it is a
“foule error to meyntene it, but that it is more error to
“seie that Christ was such a beggar, sith then he must
“have been contrary to his own law.”

In the same tract he shews, that *“it is a leaving the* Objections of Freres. MS. c. 6.
“commandment of Christ of geving of alms to poor feeble
“men, to poor crooked, to poor blind men, and to bedrede
“men, to geve alms to hypocrites that feyn them holy and
“needy, when they ben strong in body, and have over-
“much riches both in great wast houses, and precious
“cloths and great feasts, and many jewels and tresour:
“that poor men are slen with this false begging, sith the
“Freres taken falsly fro them their worldly goods, by
“which they shulden susteyn their bodily life, and deceiven
“rich men in their alms, and meynntenen or comforten them
“to live in falsness against Jesu Christ. For sith there
“were poor men enough to taken mens alms before that
“Freres camen in, and the earth is now more barren than
“it was, other Freres or poor men moten wanten of this
“alms; but Freres by subtle hypocrisie gotten to them-
*“selves, and * letten the poor men to have these alms.”* * hinder.

An unknown writer intimates, that at this time Mr. Wic-
 lif began to correct the abuses of the Clergy: *“John Wic-* MS. in Hy- peroo Bodl. 163.
“lif,” says he, *“the singular ornament of his time, began*
“at Oxford in the year of the Lord 1360, in his public lec-
“tures, to correct the abuses of the Clergy, and their open
“wickedness, K. Edward III. being living, and continued
“secure a most valiant champion of the truth among the
“tyrants of Sodom.” But it was not till many years after
 this that Wiclif read divinity lectures, as will be shewn
 hereafter. However, it is certain, he got a great deal of
 credit by his management of these controversies.

In the year 1361, Simon de Islep, Archbishop of Canter- Steph. Bir- chington vitæ Ar- chiep. Can- tu. p. 46.
 bury, formed a design of founding a Hall in the parish of
 St. Mary's in Oxford, to be called by the name of ^fCanter-

^f This Hall was surrendered into the King's hands by the Prior and Chapter

CHAP.
I.

- bury Hall; in which were to be a Warden and eleven Scholars, of which (as was afterwards suggested on the part of Archbishop Langham) the Warden and three of the Scholars were to be monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the other eight, secular priests. Of these the Bishop pitched on ^s John de Wiclif of Merton College to be one, whom he afterwards made Warden. This limitation of the Wardenship to a Monk of Christ Church, appears by the form of nomination yet in being in one of the registers of Christ Church, Canterbury; a copy of which I have put in the Collection. As to the members of this Hall, the royal licence granted to the Archbishop for founding it, and appropriating to it the rectory of Pageham in Sussex, mentions ^h a *certain number of Scholars*, religious and secular.
- Coll. No. 1. William de Islip's confirmation of the gift of the manor of Wodeford, styles them Clerks, and Mr. Wiclif himself, in his petition or libel against Wodehull, calls them *clerical scholars*. These were to study logic, and the civil and canon law; and the Archbishop, for their maintenance, settled on them the parsonage of Pageham, and the manor of Wodeford, in the county of Northampton, to which he in-
- No. 4.
- Coll. No. 2.
- Steph. Birch. *ibid.* p. 46.

of Christ Church, Canterbury, Nov. 27, 1545, and is now a part of Christ Church College in Oxford.

^s There was another of this name at this time in the University, who was Custos of Balliol Hall, as appears by John Gynewel, Bishop of Lincoln, Reg. fol. 367, 368, and presented by the Master and Scholars or Fellows of Balliol, to the rectory of Fylingham, in the archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln, 1361.

- A. D. 1337. ^h By the statutes of Pope Benedict XII. for the regulation of the Order of Black Monks or Benedictines, it was provided, that *the Monks, who were students, after they had been instructed in the primitive sciences, should be sent to the University of Paris*, there to study divinity or the canon law. But now, it seems, our Prelates thought proper they should be sent to our own Universities, and therefore made provision for their studying there. Thus Thomas de Hatfeld, Bishop of Dunholme, who died A. D. 1381, founded and endowed in Oxford a College for the Monks of the priory of Dunholme, viz. a Prior, eight Fellows or Students of the Benedictine Order, and eight Scholars Seculars, who should principally attend to grammar or philosophy, of which four should be chosen out of the city or diocese of Dunholme, and two out of the lordship of Allvertonshire, and the other two out of the same lordship in Hovedenshire, by four or five of the senior and discreeter Monks of Dunholme.

tended, if he had lived, to have added the parsonage of Ivy Church, in Romney Marsh in Kent; but, as Birchington observes, he died, and left this work imperfect. However, the Archbishop having got the rectory of Pageham and manor of Wodeford, to be settled on this his new foundation, he purchased some old houses which had been ruined by a late storm, and fitted them up for the reception of his scholars; which accordingly he placed there himself, and chose one Henry de Wodehall, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and formerly of Abingdon, to be the first Warden. Of this Wodehall we have the following account: Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. p. 182. In the year 1361, having a mind to take his Doctor's degree, he attempted to take it under a secular student, on the account of saving some charges that he must have been at otherwise. This being contrary to the usages of the University, his Abbot, Roger de Thame, who was then Abbot of the Monastery of Abingdon, of which Wodehall was at this time a Monk, dissuaded him from it. But finding that, notwithstanding his persuasions, Wodehall still resolved to make an attempt to take his degree that way, the Abbot sent letters to the Regent Masters, in which he desired they would repel this Monk of his from such inceptorship. But Wodehall made the Chancellor so much his friend, that he obtained his grace, notwithstanding all the opposition that was made by the Proctors and some few of the Masters. This occasioned a difference betwixt the *Chancellor and the Proctors, which was carried to that height, that the Chancellor ordered the Proctors to be expelled the Congregation House. On which one of the Proctors went to the Abbot of Abingdon, who then resided at London, and so effectually convinced him of the rash boldness of Wodehall, that he was forbidden his degree. But by the intercession of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who favoured Wodehall, and of the Chancellor, the Abbot was at length prevailed with to consent that he should take his degree, or be admitted to be an inceptor by himself.

* Nicholas
de Aston,
S. T. P.

It was then customary, on such occasions, for the can-

CHAP.
I.

didates for degrees in divinity, to present the Regents in Arts with robes. One of the Proctors who was entitled to these honorary presents, having formerly opposed the Monk, had none of them sent to him. This the Proctor resented so far as to stop Wodehall his degree, until satisfaction was made to him, by Wodehall's swearing *in verbo dignitatis suæ*, that he had sent by his servants these honorary presents to the Proctor's lodgings; but he not being at home, and the servant finding nobody with whom he might trust them, they were brought back again; but that they were ready at any time to be delivered to him. And so at length Wodehall was admitted to his degree.

It must be after this, that Wodehall was chosen by the
Coll. No. 5. Archbishop to be Warden of Canterbury Hall: since he was then a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Doctor of Divinity. By the form of nomination, it appears that Archbishop Islip made Wodehall Warden, after he was named with two others by the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury; who supplicate his Grace to make one of the three, which he pleases, Warden of his Hall. For thus the Archbishop had ordained, That the Prior and Chapter
Coll. No. 4. of Christ Church, Canterbury, should, as the ordinance is worded, chose out of their Chapter three fit persons, and nominate them in a common writing to the Lord Archbishop. By the same ordinance, his Grace reserved to himself and his successors a power of removing the Warden of this new Hall at pleasure, or whenever he or they thought fit, and that too ⁱ *summarily*, without any process or formal suit of law; unless his Grace, with the unanimous assent and consent of the Chapter, should think fit, for the Warden's laudable administration, and other merits, to perpetuate and establish him in the office for term of life.

This establishment however continued not long. For whether the Archbishop could not bear the turbulent humour of Wodehall, or that he saw the design of his foun-

ⁱ Absque judiciali strepitu.

dation frustrated by the perpetual bickerings between the Monks and the secular Fellows; the Archbishop two years after turned out Wodehall from being Warden, and his three fellow monks from being scholars of his new founded Hall, and in their rooms appointed John de Wiclif to be Warden, and William Selbi, William Middleworth, and Richard Benger, Clerks of the dioceses of York, Sarum, and Oxford, to be Scholars. Mr. Wiclif's letters of institution to the wardenship are dated at Mayfield, one of the Archbishop's seats, December 14, 1365: in them he is styled a person *in whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry, his Grace very much confided, and one on whom he had fixed his eyes, for that place, on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters.* Of the truth of this character the Archbishop could not well be ignorant: he having been, as was observed before, of the same College with Wiclif, and very near his contemporary there.

In this state did the Archbishop leave this his new foundation at the time of his death, which happened to be St. Mark's Day, (April 25,) the year following. But it did not long continue in it; for Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely, was on July 23, this same year, by papal provision, translated to the see of Canterbury. This prelate was first a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of Westminster, and therefore by inclination led to favour the religious, and take their part. Of this the Monks of Canterbury could not be insensible, and therefore, immediately on Langham's promotion, they applied themselves to him for redress. Accordingly, the Archbishop ejected Wiclif from the wardenship, and the three other seculars, whom Archbishop Islip had made Fellows of the Hall, in the places of the Monks, and made one John de Radyngate, a Monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, Warden. This the Register tells us he did in March 1367. Radyngate continued but a very little while in this place; for the very next month the Archbishop removed him, and made ^k Wodehall again Warden, issuing out his mandate

^k The Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, according to Archbishop Islip's

CHAP.
I.Expositio
causæ pro
parte Jo.
Wicliff co-
ram Summo
Pontifice.
MS.

to John de Wiclif, and the rest of the Scholars of the Hall, to yield obedience to him as their Warden. "This Wiclif and the Scholars of the House refused to do, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the late Archbishop their Founder. But Archbishop Langham, in order to compel them to it, sequestered the parsonage of Pageham, and by force took away the books, and other things which the Founder by his last will had left to the Hall."

Expositio
causæ Dom.
Simonis
Arch. et Mo-
nachorum
coram Papa.
MS.

Upon this Wiclif and the three expelled Fellows appealed to the Pope, and by their Proctor represented the case as is just now related. To which appeal the Archbishop replied to this effect; "That Simon Islep had for the increase of learning established a Hall, out of the revenues of the Church and Archbishoprick of Canterbury, for a Warden who should be a Monk, and three Monks and eight scholars; that the Warden was to be named by the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury, and chosen by the Archbishop for the time being; that the Founder had once made Henry de Wodehull a Monk and Professor of Divinity, Warden, after the same Henry was named to the wardenship by the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury, and had given him the possession and administration of the said College, in spiritual and temporal matters, and that the parochial church of Pageham was annexed and appropriated for the maintenance of the same Hall, which the said Henry de Wodehull, and the Fellows, the Monks and Scholars, had enjoyed for a considerable time. But, that notwithstanding one John de Wicliffe in a lawful absence of Henry Wodehull, and of some other monks and scholars of that Hall, got himself made master by craft, and *de facto*, at which the Founder (as Wiclif pretends to excuse himself) who was then very infirm, did connive: but it should not have been so by right. That upon this, Simon Langham considering that the

first ordinances, nominate to the Archbishop in their common writing, dated April 21, Henry de Wodehull, S. T. P. Will. de Rychemond, and Richard de Hathfield.

“ College should not be governed by a Scholar of the
 “ House, in prejudice of the Monks, ordered, that the in-
 “ truder and the rest of the College should receive Henry
 “ de Wodehull for a Warden; but John de Wiclif refus-
 “ ing to do it, and Simon the Archbishop fearing that the
 “ Monks would not receive the benefit of learning, he or-
 “ dered farther, that the title to Pageham Parsonage
 “ should be suspended, and the revenues sequestered for a
 “ certain time. And that this made John the intruder and
 “ his Fellows appeal to the See of Rome, &c.”

By this it seems as if Wiclif was chosen by Archbishop Islep, to be one of the ¹ Scholars of this his new foundation, before he was made Warden by him. But be that as it will, Pope Urban having received the appeal, made to Coll. No. 7. him by Wiclif and the Fellows that were expelled, and the Archbishop's answer to it, he commissioned Cardinal Andruynus to examine the matter, and by his (the Pope's) authority and power, to determine whether it was more for the advantage of the new erected Hall, that the members of it should be *seculars* or *religious*. For it seems now to be taken for granted, that it was not for its benefit, that the Scholars should be, according to the first design of the Founder, three of them Monks, and the rest secular Clerks. And one would have thought therefore that the Founder himself having in his life-time turned out the Monks, and suffered only secular Clerks to be members of this society, should have determined this question: it being a plain argument, that according to the judgment and experience of the Founder, it was most for the advantage of the Hall, that the Warden and Scholars of it should be all secular Clerks. But notwithstanding this, after a long and tedious delay of three or four years, it was ordained by a definitive sentence, which was confirmed by the Pope, A. D. 1370, Coll. No. 7. That only the Monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, ought to remain continually in the college called Canterbury Hall, and that the Seculars ought all of them to be ex-

¹ This seems inconsistent with his being Master of Balliol Hall, as was intimated before.

CHAP.
I.

* Thomas de
Southam.

Antiq. Ox-
on. p. 184.

pelled; that Henry de Wodehall and the other Monks who were deprived, should be restored; and that perpetual silence should be imposed on John de Wiclif and his associates William Selbi, William Middleworth, and Richard Benger. The execution of this sentence was, by the Pope's Bull, dated at Viterbium, May 28, 1370, committed to Simon de Sudbury Bishop of London, the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Alban's, and to the * Archdeacon of Oxford in the Church of Lincoln; who were by the Pope's authority to restore the above mentioned Henry de Wodehall, &c. to defend them so restored, and to compel all those who contradicted them by ecclesiastical censures, without allowing of any appeal. This mandate was accordingly executed this same year, by the Archdeacon of Oxford, who delivered to Wodehall the *insignia* of the wardenship, and by the Prior of Lewes in Sussex, Mr. Roger de Freton Dean of Chichester, and Walter Baketon Doctor of Decrees, who put Wodehall in possession.

It is no wonder that such a sentence as this was obtained at the court of Rome, when so powerful an interest was made to procure it: for not only the Archbishop, but the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury, espoused Wodehall's and the Monks' side, and did all they could to promote their cause. What now could Wiclif and three poor Clerks do against so powerful a combination?

But notwithstanding this sentence, the Monks, it seems, did not think themselves safe in their new possession. According to the licence of Mortmain, by virtue of which the late Archbishop was empowered to build this Hall, and appropriate to it the parsonage of Pageham, &c. there were to be placed in it *a certain number of scholars*, religious and secular: but now by this sentence they were to be all *religious*. This was directly *contrary to the form of the licence*, and it was therefore a question in law, whether the Hall itself, and its endowment, was not all forfeited to the Crown. To prevent this, therefore, the Prior and Convent of Christ Church solicited for the royal pardon and confirmation of the Pope's sentence, which they obtained about

two years after, on the consideration of their paying ^m two hundred marks. One cannot well avoid reflecting, that if CHAP.
I. the royal confirmation of this sentence cost so much, the A. D. 1372. sentence itself must be as chargeable; since it is well known that the Romish Court was not so dead to this world, as not to be sensible of the value of money, and to be utterly careless about the getting of it.

Thus was Wiclif dispossessed of the wardenship of this Hall: a preferment that even his enemies own was conferred upon him by the Founder; and of which he seems to have been deprived rather by the powerful interest which the Religious had, at that time, both at home and abroad, than for any want of right to the place, or any misbehaviour in it.

Whilst this suit was depending, Mr. Wiclif exchanged A. D. 1368. his rectory of Fylingham for that of Lutgurshall, in the archdeaconry of Bucks; a benefice of less value, but nearer to Oxfordⁿ. Some have inferred from this ^oexpulsion of Mr. Wiclif from this headship, that he fell into discontent, and was provoked by this ill usage to revenge himself by maintaining and publishing those opinions in opposition to the papal hierarchy, for which he was afterwards condemned as an heretic. But as this unfavourable censure is grounded on the supposition of his not declaring

^m To let the reader see that this was a vast sum at that time, near 1000*l*. of our money, I think it proper to observe, that in the year 1378 Archbishop Sudbury decreed, that every Chaplain having no cure of souls, and *annalia cele-* Chron. pre-
ci. p. 136. *brans*, should content himself with seven marks per annum, either all in money, or with diet and three marks; and he that took a cure to be content with eight marks, or with four marks and his diet. So that four marks, the price of a man's board, was then equal to sixteen or eighteen pounds now.

ⁿ Johannes de Wyclif presbiter presentatus per fratrem Johannem de Pavely priorem Hospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia ad ecclesiam de Lotegashall Linc. dioc. Archidiacon. Bucks per resignat. domini Johannis de Wythornewyk, ex causa permutationis de ipsa cum ecclesia parochiali de Fylingham, dicte dioc. admissus Nov. 12, 1368. *Reg. Bokingham.*

^o Others of the Catholics, as Pighius, have reflected on him, as if he there- Hierar. lib.
ii. c. 10. fore took away the difference between Bishop and Elder, because he could not obtain the bishoprick of Worcester: but of this not the least proof is produced, so far as I can yet find.

CHAP.
I.

any of these sentiments till after this his deprivation, it is much the less to be regarded. By what has been already said it appears, that Mr. Wiclif had, some years before he was appointed Warden of this Hall, opposed the Court of Rome in a very tender and sensible part, that of their granting provisors to ecclesiastical benefices for such base and sordid ends as getting money. But however this be, Mr. Wiclif lost no reputation by this his deprivation. It was very plain to every body, even at that time, but those who were biassed so much by their interest as to be very partial, that this decision of the Pope's was an arbitrary act of his in favour of the Religious, who were his life-guard, and who hated the Seculars, and took all opportunities to engross to themselves all they could lay their greedy hands on, and were particularly desirous of having the government and profits of this Hall appropriated to them, exclusive of the Seculars.

CHAP. II.

Wiclif defends the King's Title in opposition to the pretensions of the Pope; he professes Divinity, and reads the Public Lectures in the University, in which he attacks the corruptions of the Friars.

DURING this dispute betwixt the Archbishop and the Monks, and Wiclif and the Secular Fellows about the right to Canterbury-Hall; Pope Urban gave notice to K. A. D. 1366. Edward, that he intended by process to cite him to his court, then at Avignon, to answer for his default in not performing the homage which King John, his predecessor, acknowledged to the see of Rome for his realm of England, and dominion of Ireland, and refusing to pay the tribute by him granted to the said see. With this the King acquainted his Parliament, which met this year at Westminster, the Monday after the Invention of the Cross, and required their advice concerning what was best for him to do, if any such thing was attempted: to which it was answered by the common consent of the whole estate, that “forasmuch as neither King John nor any other King could bring his realm and kingdom in such thralldom and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not done; therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation, besides many other causes. If therefore the Pope should attempt any thing against the King by process, or other matters in deed, the King, with all his subjects, should with all their force and power resist the same.”

Cotton's Abridgment of Records, p. 102.

But notwithstanding this resolution of the Parliament, one of the Monks had, it seems, the hardiness to defend this claim of the Pope's, and to challenge Mr. Wiclif to dispute that point with him. To him Mr. Wiclif replied, and published a determination, in which he shewed, that the resignation of the crown, and promise of a tribute made

MS. in Bibl. Lambethan.

CHAP.
II.

heretofore by King John to the Pope's Legate, ought not to prejudice the kingdom of England; and did not at all oblige the present King. This, no doubt, was no way agreeable to the Court of Rome, who were very impatient of contradiction, and could not bear any opposition made to their pretensions, however unjust and unreasonable they were. And therefore we need not wonder that Mr. Wiclif was ejected, as has been shewn, from his wardenship. However, by this he seems to have been made known to the Court, and particularly to the Duke of Lancaster, the King's brother, who was at this time in great favour, and
A. D. 1368. to whom Mr. Wiclif, two years after, addressed some of his works which he published.

In this paper Mr. Wiclif styles himself the King's peculiar Clerk or Chaplain, and declares, that "he willingly
"undertook the part of a respondent to defend and shew,
"that the King might justly rule the kingdom of England,
"and at the same time deny the payment of the 700 marks
"a year, demanded as a tribute by the Pope: and that the
"errors imposed on the kingdom are false and without
"any evidence of reason or law; on this account however,
"that his opponent undertook to shew, that it is false and
"contrary to the Gospel, that *temporal Lords may in any*
"*case lawfully take away the goods of Churchmen.*" He adds, that he had been told, "there were three reasons
"why this reverend Doctor put him on answering in the
"present case. 1. That his person might be defamed at
"Rome, and he loaded with ecclesiastical censures, and
"deprived of his church benefices." So dangerous, it seems, was it at this time to oppose this pretension of the Pope's. 2. "That the Doctor himself might by this
"means obtain the favour of the Roman Court for himself
"and his Order. 3. That the Lord Pope ruling the king-
"dom of England with less control and at his own pleasure, temporal domains might be heaped on the Abbies
"without any restraint." To avoid therefore the personal injury designed to himself, Mr. Wiclif professes, "that
"he is an humble and obedient son of the Roman Church,

“ and that he will assert nothing that may sound injurious
“ to the said Church, or reasonably offend devout ears.”

He then refers his opponent to answer the arguments which, he says, he heard used by the secular lords in a certain council, by which, I suppose, he means the parliament, in which this question was debated in the House of Lords. Accordingly he gives an abstract of the several speeches made by seven lords on this occasion, and concludes thus; “ It is,” says he, “ therefore proved, unless
“ the Doctor demonstrates to me the reasonableness of the
“ condition alleged contrary to the reasons given by the
“ lords of England, that that reason is not good against the
“ right of our lord the King.” But, adds he, “ if I am not
“ mistaken, he will never be able to prove, that this con-
“ dition was reasonable and honest, before that day comes
“ in which all exaction will be at an end.” But whatever zeal might now be shewn by the Friars in behalf of this arrogant claim of the Pope’s, of this kingdom’s being tributary to *them*, it is plain no such tribute was ever paid, and that it was afterwards the opinion of the English Catho-

Sir Thomas
More’s Eng.
Works,
p. 296,
col. 1.

Mr. Wiclif having taken his Doctor of Divinity’s degree, now publicly professed divinity, and read lectures in it; which he did with very great applause, having such an authority in the schools, that whatever he said was received as an oracle. In these lectures he frequently took notice of the corruptions of the begging Friars, which at first he did in a soft and gentle manner, until, finding that his detecting their abuses was what was acceptable to his hearers, he proceeded to deal more plainly and openly with them.

Leland de
Script. Brit.
p. 379.

“ Religion, as one well observes, had now passed through
“ so many ignorant and barbarous ages; the means of
“ greater knowledge had been so studiously hidden from
“ the people, and the ignorance of the laity was so advance-
“ tageous to the interest of the Clergy, that the true spirit

Mr. Whar-
ton’s Pref. to
Bishop Pea-
cock’s Trea-
tise, &c.
p. 34.

CHAP.
II.

“ of Christianity seemed to be wholly lost, and had degene-
 “ rated into shews and ceremonies, many of which were
 “ unlawful, but almost all unuseful. And not only this
 “ fatal stupidity and idle superstition had generally pos-
 “ sessed the minds of men, but all remedies were detest-
 Ibid. p. 36. “ ed, and all artifices used to continue the disease. The
 “ incredible fables of legends, and incurable itch of lying
 “ for the honour of their saints and patrons, which then
 “ reigned among all the monastic orders, (which was al-
 “ most the only subject on which they preached,) and was
 “ fondly received by the credulous multitude, were one of
 “ the greatest scandals and most pernicious abuses in the
 “ Church at that time. The greater and more necessary
 “ articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge
 “ of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends,
 “ and romantic stories ; fables, which in this respect only
 “ differed from those of the ancient Heathen poets, that
 “ they were more incredible, and less elegant.”

Object. of
 Freres. MS.
 c. 50.
 Dialog. lib.
 iv. c. 34.

Objections
 of Freres.
 MS.

Dr. Wiclif therefore, in exposing the follies and super-
 stitions of the Friars, struck at the root of all the abuses
 which at that time had got into the Church. Of this he
 was very sensible : for to them he imputes all the distur-
 bance of the Christian Church, and the mischiefs of this
 world ; and affirms, that the infatuated Church is involved
 in infinite blasphemies, principally by the tail of that dra-
 gon mentioned in the Revelations, *i. e.* the sects of the
 Friars which minister to that delusion, and other Luciferian
 seductions of the Church. The particulars with which
 Dr. Wiclif charged the Friars may be seen in a tract,
 which he published about ten years after this, in which he
 charges them with holding *fifty heresies and errors*, and
many moe, if men wole seke them well out. These he
 names as follows.

1. “ *First,*” says he, “ *Freres seyn that their religion foun-*
 “ *den of sinful men, is more perfit than that religion or*
 “ *Order the which Christ himself made, that is both God*
 “ *and man.*”

2. *Also, Freres seyn privily that it is apostacy and he-*

“ *resy for a priest to live, as Christ ordained a priest to*
 “ *live, by form of the Gospel, viz. to traveile to sow God’s*
 “ *word among the people; to do this office freely going fro*
 “ *country to country where he may most profit, and ceese*
 “ *not for Priour, ne any other satrap, and charge not sin-*
 “ *gular p abite, and begg not, but be payed with common*
 “ *meat and drink, as Christ and his Apostles weren.*

3. *Also, Freres seyn, if a man be once professed to their*
 “ *religion, he may never leave it and be saved, though he*
 “ *be never so unable thereto, for all time of his life.*

4. “ *Also, Freres seyn, if a man be professed to their*
 “ *holy Order, he shall not preche freely and generally the*
 “ *Gospel to christen men, without licence of his Sovereign*
 “ *for virtue of obedience, be his Sovereign never so cursed*
 “ *a man of life, and unkunning of God’s law, and enemy*
 “ *to christen men’s souls, and in caas a foul devil of hell,*
 “ *though this man professed have received of God never so*
 “ *much kunning of God’s law, and power and will to work*
 “ *after this kunning.*

5. “ *Also, Freres meyntene that begging is lawful, the*
 “ *which is damned by God, both in the Old Testament,*
 “ *and also in the New.*

6. “ *Also, Freres seyn indede, that it is medeful to leave*
 “ *the commandment of Christ, of geving of alms to poor*
 “ *feble men, to poor crooked, to poor blind men, and to*
 “ *bedrede men, and geven this alms to hypocrites that feyn*
 “ *them holy and needy when they ben strong in body, and*
 “ *have overmuch riches, both in great waste 9 houses, and*

p This *habit* or dress is described by Chaucer as consisting of a great hood, a scaplerie, a knotted girdle, and a wide cope. *Jack Upland.*

9 Why make yee so costly houses to dwell in? sith Christ did not so, and dede men should have but graves, as falleth it to dede men: and yet ye have mo courts than many lords of England; for ye now wenden through the realme, and ech night will lig in your owne courtes, and so mow but right few lords do. *Chaucer, Jack Upland.*

These *great waste houses* Dr. Wiclif elsewhere calls *Caimi Castra*, Caim’s Dialog. lib. Castles, (so the word Cain was then usually spelt) because with these four iv. cap. 33. letters C. A. I. M. the names of the four several Orders of the begging Friars began, viz. Carmelites, Augustines, Jacobites, Minorites; which were com-

CHAP.
II.

*“ precious clothes, and great feasts, and many jewels and
“ tresour.*

7. *“ Also, Freres chargen more breking of their own
“ traditions, than breking of the commandments of God.*

8. *“ Also, Freres feynen them as hypocrites to kepe
“ streitly the Gospel and poverty of Christ and his Apo-
“ stles, and they mosten [do] contrary to Christ and his
“ Apostles.*

9. *“ Also, Freres drawen children fro Christ’s religion
“ into their private Order by hypocrisie, lesings, and stel-
“ ing.*

10. *“ Also, Freres for pride and covetisse, drawen fro
“ curates their offices and sacraments, in which lieth wyn-
“ nyng or worship, and so maken dissencion between cu-
“ rates and their gostly children.*

11. *“ Also, Freres comen in under the name of saints,
“ and forsaken the saints rule and life, and putten their
“ own errors to the saints, and so slandren both them and
“ God.*

12. *“ Also, Freres pursuen true priests, and letten them
“ to preche the Gospel, notwithstanding that Christ en-
“ joyned priesthood, and teching of the Gospel; and so
“ they departen that thing that God joyned togeder.*

13. *“ Also, Capped Freres that ben cleped Masters of
“ Divinity, have their chamber and service as lords and
“ kings, and senden out idiots full of covetisse to preche,
“ not the Gospel, but chronicles, fables, and lesings, to
“ plesse the people, and to robb them.*

14. *“ Also, Freres shewen not to the people their great
“ sins stably as God biddeth, and namely to mighty men
“ of the world; but flatteren them or glosen and nourishen
“ them in sin.*

15. *“ Also, Freres by ^r letters of fraternity deceiven the*

monly called the White, Black, Austin, and Grey Friars. The learned Mr. Collier translates Caimi Castra, Cain’s Camps. *Eccl. Hist.* vol. i.

^r These letters were written on parchment or thin vellum, and the writing very finely illuminated with gold and colours, and sealed with the common seal of the convent, which was covered with sarcenet. By them the Friars and

“ *people in faith, and robben them of temporal goods, and*
 “ *maken the people to trust more in dede parchmyn seled,*
 “ *with lesings and vain prayers of hypocrites that in caas*
 “ *been damned devils, than in the help of God, and in*
 “ *their own good living.*

16. “ *Also, Freres pervert the right faith of the sacra-*
 “ *ment of the auter, and bringen in a new heresie. For*
 “ *when Christ seith that the bread that he brake and bless-*
 “ *ed is his body, they seyn that it is an accident withouten*
 “ *suget or nought.*

17. “ *Also, Freres builden many great churches, and* Col. No. 22.
 “ *costy wast houses and cloisters, as it weren castels, and*
 “ *that withouten neede, where through parish churches,*
 “ *and common ways been * perred; and in many places * impaired.*
 “ *undon.*

18. “ *Freres also destroien obedience of God's law, and*
 “ *magnifien singular obedience made to sinful men, and in*
 “ *caas to devils, which obedience Christ ensampled never,*
 “ *neither in himself, ne his Apostles.*

19. “ *Also, Freres forsaken perfection of their Order for*
 “ *worship of the world and covetisse, and ben not suffered*
 “ *to take the freedom of the Gospel, for to preche God's*
 “ *word to the peple.*

20. “ *Also, Freres praisen more their rotten habite than*
 “ *the worshipfull body of our Lord Jesu Christ; for they*
 “ *techen lords and namelicke ladies, that if they dien in*
 “ *Francis's abite, they shulden never come to hell for virtue*
 “ *thereof.*

other Religious pretended to assure those, who purchased these letters, of their having a part of all *their* masses, mattins, preachings, fastings, watchings, and all other good deeds done by the brethren of the Order, both whilst they were alive, and after they were dead. They who could afford to pay for these toys, not content with being admitted into the fraternity of one of these houses, purchased several of them. The Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, for instance, was admitted into the fraternity of * five several religious houses, if not more. To gratify the reader's curiosity, I have put a copy of one of these letters in the Collection. They were granted by the Prior, &c. of Christ Church, No. 9. Canterbury, to the famous Dean Colet's mother.

* Westminster, Crowland, Durham, Wynburne, Charter-House at London.

CHAP.
II.

21. “ *Also, Freres^s beggen withouten nede for their
“ own rich sect.*

22. “ *Freres also keepen not correption of the Gospel
“ against their brethren that trespassen, but cruelly don
“ them to painful prison.*

23. “ *Also, Freres maken our lond lawless, for they le-
“ den clerks and namelicke rulen prelates, and lords and
“ ladies, and commons also.*

24. “ *Also, Freres ben irregular procurators of the
“ fend, to make and maintain warrs of christen men, and
“ enemies of peace and charity.*

25. “ *Freres also ben Scariot’s children, betraying the
“ truth of the Gospel, and so Christ, for money.*

26. “ *Also, Freres destroien this world most of all cursed
“ men, for they backbiten good clerks, and seyn that they
“ disturben the lond, and flatteren evil clerks in their sin.*

27. “ *Also, Freres ben most rebel against the teching of
“ Christ’s Gospel, and most out of patience and pity, for
“ they ben most impatient against the reprovng of sin,
“ and destroying thereof.*

28. “ *Also, Freres meyntene that holy Writt is false.*

29. “ *Freres ben also stronger wedded with their rotten
“ habite agenst the freedom of the Gospel, than the husband
“ is with his wife by ordinance of God.—If a Frere be
“ out of his rotten abite, yea an hour, he is apostate,
“ though he love more God, and serve him better, and pro-
“ fiteth more to christen men.*

30. “ *Also, Freres techen that it is not lefull to a priest
“ or another man to keep the Gospel in his bonds, and
“ clenness withouten error of sinful men, but if yee have
“ left thereto of Antichrist.*

31. “ *Also, Freres ben ressert and a swallow of simony,
“ of usury, extortions, of raveynes and of thefts, and so as a
“ nest or hord of Mammon’s tresour.*

32. “ *Freres also crien loud that poor priests ben hereticks,*

* How expert and diligent the Friars were in following this trade may be seen in the Collect. No. 29.

“for they techen by God’s law how clerks shulden keep
 “wilful poverty of Christ’s Gospel, and that the King and
 “lords owen to compell them thereto, and thus they damn-
 “en holy Writ and the King’s regalie.

33. “Also, Freres ben thieves, both night thieves and
 “day thieves, entring into the Church not by the door that
 “is Christ. For withouten auctoritie of God they maken
 “new religions of errors of sinful men.

34. “Also, Freres by hypocrisie binden them to impossi-
 “ble thing that they may not do, for they binden over the
 “commandments of God.

35. “Freres also ben worse hereticks than weren Jews,
 “that woulde keep ceremonies of the old law with freedom
 “of Christ’s Gospel. For the Jews kept reasonable laws
 “made of God, and nedeful for time that God ordeyned
 “them; but Freres keepen new laws feigned of errors of
 “men more than God ordeyned in the old law, and more
 “uncertain.

36. “Also, Freres ben adversaries of Christ and disci-
 “ples of Satanas, not yielding good for evil, as God’s law
 “techeth; ne good for good as * kind and man’s law tech- * nature.
 “eth. For they casten and imaginen the death of true
 “men, that desiren and traveilen to deliver them fro the
 “fend’s mouth, and everlasting death, and to bring them to
 “that state in which Christ ordeyned priests to liven in.—
 “they pursuen priests for they reproven their sins as God
 “biddeth, both to † brenn them, and the Gospels of Christ † burn. This
 “written in English to the most learning of our nation. shews this
 tract was

37. “Freres also ben worse enemies and sleers of man’s
 “soules than is the cruel fende of hell by himself. For they, not written
 till about
 the latter
 end of Dr.
 Wiclif’s
 life, A. D.
 1382.
 “under the abite of holiness, leden men, and nourishen
 “them in sin, and ben special helpers of the fend to stran-
 “gle mens souls. For they have name of holiness, and of
 “great clerks in reputation of the people, that the people
 “trusteth not to few true men preching agenst their cove-
 “tise, hypocrisie, and false deceit.

38. “Also, Freres leden and nourishen our prelates, our
 “lords and commons in great blasphemy against God.

CHAP.
II.

*“ For they techen all these people to recke less of the most
“ rightful curse of God, than by the wrong curse of sinful
“ man.—For though a man be never so cursed of God
“ for pride, envy, covetisse, or avoutrie, or any other sin,
“ this is not charged, ne pursued neither of prelate, ne lord,
“ ne commons: but if a man withstonde once the citation
“ of a sinful prelate, yea after the commandment of God,
“ then he shall be cursed, and prisoned after fourty days.*

39. *“ Freres also destroyen this article of christen mens
“ faith, I believe one common or general holy Church;
“ for they techen that though ^t men be damned they shullen
“ be members of holy Church, and thus they wedden Christ
“ and the Devil togeder, for Christ is ghostly wedded with
“ ech member of holy Chirch.*

40. *“ Also, Freres seken busily their own worldly wor-
“ ship, and putten the worship of God behind, against the
“ teching of Jesu Christ and St. Paul. Yea, that is worse,
“ they taken upon themselves the glory that is appropred to
“ God.*

41. *“ Freres yet enheighen falsly themselves aboven
“ Christ; for where Christ biddeth that men trowe not to
“ him, but if he do the works of the Fadir of Heaven,
“ Freres chargen that men trust and obeche to them as nede-
“ ful to souls health, when they don not the works of God.*

42. *“ Also, Freres falsly enhansen themselves above
“ Christ, and his Apostles, for they wolen not be apeid
“ with Christ's rule in the Gospel, to teche truly the Gospel,
“ and have meat and drink freely of a good man, and de-
“ vout to God, ne be apeied with food and heling,—but
“ they robben lords of their rents—and the commons of
“ their liflode, by hypocrisie and false begging.*

43. *“ Freres also of great cautele bynden novices to un-
“ knowen thing: for they wolen not suffer them knew their
“ privyties of their rule, and their life till that they ben*

^t Ut aliquis aliquo modo dici possit pars veræ Ecclesiæ de qua scripturæ lo-
quuntur, non putamus requiri ullam internam virtutem, sed tantum externam
fidei professionem, & sacramentorum communionem quæ ipso sensu percipitur.
Bellar. de Ecclesia, lib. 3.

“ *professed, and then they shullen not be suffred to leve* CHAP.
 “ *their rule though they* witen well that they may not kepe* II.
 “ *it.* * know.

44. “ *Also, Freres ben wasters of tresour of our lond by*
 “ *many blind and unskilful manners; for first they binded*
 “ *them blindly fro freedom of the Gospel, and then spenden*
 “ *much gold to gett them dispensation, and many times*
 “ *bringen vain pardons, quiennales, and other vain pri-*
 “ *veleges.*

45. “ *Freres also by Lucifer’s highen themselves, and*
 “ *holden them holier than all other out of their sect, foras-*
 “ *much as they binden to new traditions of sinful men,*
 “ *the which ben full of error, over the most sufficient rule*
 “ *of Jesu Christ, that left no profitable, ne needful thing*
 “ *out of his rule.*

46. “ *Also, Freres setten more by stinking dritt of*
 “ *worldly goods, then they don by virtues and goods of*
 “ *bliss.*

47. “ *Freres also shewen and witnessen in themselves*
 “ *Antichrist’s miracles right, as Lazar, and other raised by*
 “ *Christ, sheweden and witnessed Christ’s miracles. For*
 “ *as Lazar and other weren verily dead, and verily raised*
 “ *by Christ to life, and kind of grace: so these freres feyn-*
 “ *ed them dead to the pride of the world, and other sins,*
 “ *they ben raised by Antichrist doing, to pride of states,*
 “ *covetisse, and subtle meyntening or colouring of sin.*

“ 48. “ *Also, Freres ben foul envenymed with gostly*
 “ *sin of Sodom—for they don ghostly lecherie by God’s*
 “ *law when they prechen more their own findings for*
 “ *worldly muck, than Christ’s Gospel for saving of mens*
 “ *souls.*

49. “ *Freres also ben most privy and subtle procurators*
 “ *of simony, and foul winning and begging of benefices, of*
 “ *indulgencies, and trienals, pardons, and vain priveledges:*
 “ *for men seyn they wolen gett a great thing of the Pope,*
 “ *or of Cardinals in England, better cheap than other pro-*
 “ *curatours.*

50. “ *Yet, Freres ben most perilous enemies to holy*

CHAP.
II.

*“ Church and all our lond; for they letten curates of their
 “ offeices, and spenden commonly and needless 60,000
 “ mark by the year, that they robben falsly of the poor
 “ people. For if curates diden their office in good life and
 “ true preching, as they ben holden upon pain of damned
 “ in hell, there weren clerks enough of bishops, persons, and
 “ other priests, and in caas over many to the people.”*

In this manner did Dr. Wiclif expose the abuses and corruptions of the Friars, who, being men not very patient of contradiction, and not well knowing how to bear reproof, were very angry with him, and did what they could to avenge themselves of him. But of this hereafter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Papal usurpations in England: they are complained of by the Parliament. The King issues out commissions to enquire what benefices, &c. were in the hands of Italians, Frenchmen, &c. Dr. Wiclif sent Ambassador to the Pope. His lectures and writings against the Pope, and the corruptions of the Clergy.

THE papal power, which had for some time been growing, was now greater than ever. This is acknowledged by the most learned and moderate adversaries to Dr. Wiclif's memory, that the King's power was at this time very much weakened by the encroachments of the Popes and the Bishops, and, that the exactions and impositions of the Court of Rome were become very grievous to the people. The Pope disposed of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, as he thought fit: insomuch that the very best of them were enjoyed by Italians, Frenchmen, and other aliens, who were some of them mere boys; and not only ignorant of the English language, but even of Latin, and who never so much as saw their churches, but committed the care of them to those they could get to serve them cheapest; and had the revenues of them remitted to them at Rome, or elsewhere, by their proctors, to whom they let their tithes. Thus, for instance, that great prelate, Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, was commanded by Pope Innocent IV. A. D. 1253, to induct one Frederic de Lavanie, a nephew of his, and under age, or his proctor, into the corporal possession of a canonry of Lincoln, *notwithstanding any usages or statutes to the contrary strengthened by oaths, or confirmations of the apostolic see, or by any other confirmation.* Of this very great abuse the Parliament had often made very grievous complaints to the King, and to the Pope himself; representing to them, that "*manifold inconveniences ensued thereby; as the decay of hospitality, the*

Dupin Biblioth. tom. 12.

Matt. Paris Hist. p. 722.

CHAP.
III.

“ transporting of the treasure of the realm to the maintenance of the King’s mortal enemies, the discovering of the secrets of the kingdom, and the utter discouragement, disabling and impoverishing of scholars natives of the land.” To the same purpose they complained to the Pope, that *“ by his reservations, provisions, and collations, a great number of souls were in peril, by their pastors having little or no understanding at all of our language, and of the conditions and customs of these of whom they have the government and cure; that the service of God was neglected, the alms and devotion of all men diminished, the hospitals brought to decay, the churches, with their appurtenances, ruined and dilapidated.”*

A. D. 1373.
Barnes’s
History of
King Edward III.
p. 864.

J. Malvern
Contin. Polychron.
MS.
Cotton’s
Abridg. p.
119.
A. D. 1373,

But notwithstanding these complaints, they could not hitherto meet with any redress. So far from it, that they now remonstrated that these usurpations did *daily abound*, and were *more than ever were before*. Nor were these complaints only made by the great men in Parliament, but by others the King’s subjects, who lamented the great abuses done unto the King and his authority by the Pope. To remedy therefore a grievance and oppression, which was now grown to that height as to be borne with no longer, the King sent John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, William de Burton, Ughtred Bolton a monk of Dunholme, and John de Shepeye, his ambassadors to Pope Gregory XI. then residing at Avignon, to require of him that he would forbear meddling for the future with the reservation of benefices; *“ That Clergymen might freely enjoy their elections to episcopal dignities, and that it might be sufficient for them to be confirmed by their metropolitans, as was the ancient custom.”* But this commission came to nothing, the ambassadors returning without being able to obtain from the Pope any satisfactory answer. For though there was a concordate then made about that matter, it was only a temporary concession of the Pope’s, who was unwilling wholly to renounce his usurpation on ecclesiastical benefices in England. The Commons in Parliament therefore renew their request, that *“ remedy be pro-*

“ vided against the provisions of the Pope, whereby he
 “ reaps the first fruits of ecclesiastical dignities, the trea-
 “ sure of the realm being thereby conveyed away, which
 “ they cannot bear.” And an act was passed, that “ cathe-
 “ dral churches should enjoy their own elections; and that
 “ for the future the King should not write against the per-
 “ sons so elected, but rather by his letters endeavour their
 “ confirmation, if need were.” But this act signified little.

CHAP.
III.Hist. of Ed-
ward III.
p. 864.

The next year therefore the King issued out a commis-
 sion for taking an exact survey of all benefices and digni-
 ties ecclesiastical throughout his dominions, which were
 then in the hands of Italians, Frenchmen, or other aliens;
 with a true valuation of them, and the names of the bene-
 fices, and the several incumbents. This commission was sent
 unto all the Bishops, who were commanded to send a true
 certificate of all and singular the premises, into the High
 Court of Chancery, under their seals. It was accordingly
 executed, and the number of such spiritual livings as were
 then in the possession of Priors, aliens, and other strangers,
 was so great, as that they are said to have filled several
 sheets of paper.

A. D. 1374.
Fox's Acts
and Monu-
ments, vol. i.
p. 560.Ibid. p. 560,
561, 562.

The King therefore, to remedy so great and growing an
 evil, soon after the return of these certificates, appoints
 other ambassadors to go to the Pope, to treat with him of
 the same affairs on which he had sent ambassadors to him
 the year before. These were the aforesaid John, Bishop of
 Bangor, John de Wiclif, S. T. P. John Guter, Dean of
 Sechow, Simon de Multon, LL. D. William de Burton,
 Knight, Robert Bealknap, and John de Henyngton. These
 ambassadors were met at Bruges, about the beginning of
 August this year, by the Pope's Nuncios, Bernard, alias
 Benedict, Bishop of Pampelone, Ladulph, or Radulph, Bi-
 shop of Senigaglia, and Giles Sancho, Provost of the Church
 of Valenza; who were likewise commissioned by the Pope
 to treat “ concerning the liberties of the Church of Eng-
 “ land, and of the Prelates and other ecclesiastical persons
 “ of the said realm of England.” This treaty held off and
 on about two years, when, at last, it was concluded, “ that

Coll. No. 11.

History of
King Ed-
ward III.
p. 866.

A. D. 1376.

CHAP.
III.

“for the future the Pope should desist from making use of
“*reservations of benefices*; and that the King should no
“more confer benefices by his writ, *Quare impedit*.” But
as to the elections to episcopal dignities by the Chapters,
nothing was mentioned in this treaty, which was attributed
to the politic dealing of some, who knew they could more
easily^a attain to those they aimed at, by the Court of
Rome, than by due and regular elections.

But all treaties with that corrupt Court signified very
little; for though it was now agreed, that the Pope should
make no more use of reservations of benefices; yet we
find it complained of in Parliament the very next year
after the conclusion of this treaty, that “the Pope did
“make reservation of dignities elective, contrary to this
“treaty of his, concluded with King Edward III.”

Of this our Parliaments seem to have been generally
very sensible, that the faith of the Pope’s treaties was not
to be trusted to. And accordingly we find that this very
A. D. 1376. same year, in which this treaty with the Pope was made,
a long bill was brought into the House of Parliament
against the Papal usurpations, as the cause of all the
plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm; so as
thereby was not left the third person, or other commodity
within the realm, as lately was. It was remonstrated
by them, “that the tax paid to the Pope of Rome
“for ecclesiastical dignities doth amount to five fold as
“much as the tax of all the profits, as appertain to the
“King, by the year, of this whole realm; and for some
“one bishopric, or other dignity, the Pope, by way of
“translation and death, hath three, four, or five seve-
“ral taxes: that the brokers of that sinful city, for mo-
“ney, promote many * caitiffs, being altogether unlearned
“and unworthy, to a thousand marcs living yearly;
“whereas the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty
“marks; whereby learning decayeth. That aliens, ene-

* wicked
men.

^a John, Bishop of Bangor, the first in this commission, was translated to the
see of Hereford by the Pope’s Bull, Sept. 12, 1375, and from thence, by the
same authority, to the bishopric of St. David’s, 1389.

“mies to this land, who never saw, nor care to see their
 “parishioners, have those livings; whereby they despise
 “God’s service, and convey away the treasure of the
 “realm; and are worse than Jews or Saracens. It is
 “therefore, say they, to be considered, that the law of the
 “Church would have such livings bestowed for charity
 “only, without praying or paying: that reason would that
 “livings given of devotion should be bestowed in hospi-
 “tality: that God hath given his sheep to the Pope to be
 “pastured, and not shorn or shaven: that lay-patrons per-
 “ceiving this simony and covetousness of the Pope, do
 “thereby learn to sell their benefices to beasts, no other-
 “wise than Christ was sold to the Jews: that there is
 “none so rich a prince in Christendom, who hath the
 “fourth part of so much treasure as the Pope hath out of
 “this realm, for churches, most sinfully. They further re-
 “monstrated, that the Pope’s collector, and other strangers,
 “the King’s enemies, and only leiger spies for English
 “dignities, and disclosing the secrets of the realm, ought
 “to be discharged: that the same collector being also
 “receiver of the Pope’s pence, keepeth an house in Lon-
 “don, with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, as if
 “it were one of the King’s solemn courts, transporting
 “yearly to the Pope twenty thousand marcs, and most
 “commonly more: that Cardinals and other aliens re-
 “maining at the Court of Rome, * whereof one Cardinal is
 “a Dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln,
 “another Archdeacon of Canterbury, another Archdeacon
 “of Durham, another Archdeacon of Suffolk, and another
 “Archdeacon of York; another Prebendary of Thane and
 “Nassington; another Prebendary of York, in the diocese
 “of York, have divers other the best dignities in England,
 “and have sent over yearly unto them twenty thousand
 “marcs, over and above that which English brokers lying
 “here have: that the Pope, to ransom Frenchmen, the
 “King’s enemies, who defend Lombardy for him, doth
 “always, at his pleasure, levy a subsidy of the whole
 “Clergy of England: that the Pope, for more gain,

* Vide Fox’s
 Acts and
 Monu-
 ments, vol. i.
 p. 561.
 where the
 reader will
 see the va-
 lue of these
 dignities,
 and of many
 more which
 were then
 enjoyed by
 Cardinals.

CHAP.
III.

“maketh sundry translations of all the bishopricks, and
“other dignities, within the realm: that the Pope’s col-
“lector hath this year taken to his use the first fruits of
“all benefices: that therefore it would be good to renew
“all the statutes against provisions from Rome, since the
“Pope reserveth all the benefices of the world for his own
“proper gift, and hath, within this year, created twelve
“new Cardinals; so that now there are thirty, whereas
“there were wont to be but twelve in all; and all the said
“thirty Cardinals, except two or three, are the King’s
“enemies: that the Pope, in time, will give the tempo-
“ral manors or dignities to the King’s enemies, since he
“daily usurpeth upon the realm, and the King’s regality:
“that all houses and corporations of religion, which, from
“the King, ought to have free elections of their heads, the
“Pope hath now accroached the same unto himself: that
“in all legations from the Pope whatsoever, the English
“beareth the charge of the Legates; and all for the good-
“ness of our money. It also appeareth, they say, that if
“the money of the realm were as plentiful as ever, the
“collector aforesaid, with the Cardinal’s Proctors, would
“soon convey away the same. For remedy whereof, they
“advise it may be provided, that no such collector or
“proctor do remain in England, upon pain of life and limb;
“and that, on the like pain, no Englishman become any
“such collector or proctor, or remain at the Court of Rome.
“For better information hereof, and namely, touching the
“Pope’s collector; for that the whole Clergy, being obe-
“dient to him, dare not displease him; they say, it were
“good that Dr. John Strensall, parson of St. Botolph’s in
“Holborne, be sent for to come before the Lords and
“Commons of this Parliament, who, being straitly charged,
“can declare much more, for that he served the same col-
“lector in house five years.” It was further complained,
that “by this unbridled multitude of apostolical provisions,
“as the Pope’s disposals of church-benefices by his bulls
“were called, the lawful patrons of the several benefices
“were deprived of their right of collation or presentation;

“the noble and learned natives of England would be wholly
 “excluded from all church-preferment, however of such as
 “was valuable or honourable, so that, as was observed be-
 “fore, there would in time be a defect of council as to
 “those matters that concern the spiritualitie, and none
 “would be found fit to be promoted to ecclesiastical prela-
 “cies: that divine worship would be impaired, hospitalitie
 “and alms would be neglected, contrary to the primary
 “intention and design of the founders of the churches:
 “that the legal rights of the respective churches would be
 “lost, the church buildings would all go to ruine, and the
 “devotion of the people be lessened and withdrawn:” truths
 of the notoriousness of which every thinking person is very
 sensible at this day. So well grounded is the determin-
 ation of the English Synod, 1571, that “the absence of a
 “pastor from the Lord’s flock is very pernicious to the
 “Church of God.”

It is not improbable, that Dr. Wiclif, by being con-
 cerned in this treaty, was made more sensible than he was
 before of the pride, covetousness, ambition, and tyranny of
 the Pope. For, on his return home, it is certain he did all
 he could to expose him, both in his public lectures, and in
 private. He stiled him “Antichrist, the proud worldly
 “Priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and
 “purse-kervers.” In some of his tracts yet remaining, he
 thus exposes the covetousness and ambition of the Pope,
 and his usurpation on the King’s regale. “*They,*” the
 Pope and his collectors, “*drawen out of our lond,*” says
 he, “*poor men’s liflode, and many thousand mark, by the*
 “*yere, of the King’s money, for sacraments and spiritual*
 “*things, that is cursed heresie of symony, and maketh all*
 “*Christendome assent and meyntene this heresie. And*
 “*certes tho our rewme had an huge hill of gold, and never*
 “*other man took thereof but only this proud worldly*
 “*Priest’s collector; by process of time this hill must be*
 “*spended: for he taketh ever money out of our lond, and*
 “*sendeth nought agen but God’s curse for his symony,*
 “*and accursed Antichrist’s clerk to rob more he lond for*

Great Sen-
 tence of
 Curse ex-
 pounded.
 c. 21. MS.

- CHAP. III. *“ wrongful privilege, or else leave to do God’s will, that
“ men shulden do without his lead, and buying and sell-
ing.”* So again he observes that *“ all Bishops and pos-
“ sessioners——drawen all the winning that they may fro
“ the King to themselves, and the proud Priest of Rome,
“ making him chief lord of much part of the rewme, and
“ of the King’s power, making the counsel of the King
“ known to him, as they ben sworn to the Pope. That
“ Antichrist and his clerks seyn, that secular lords have no
“ power upon clerks, but if prelates clepen them to chastise
“ clerks when they ben rebell, and wolen not ben amended by
“ their prelates ; and that these worldly clerks wolen never
“ cease, if they may, till they have fully destroyed kings
“ and lords and their regalie and power. For, says he, they
“ crien fast, and writen in their laws, that the King hath
“ no jurisdiction ne power of their persons, ne goods of
“ holy Church. And when the King and secular lords
“ perceiven well that clerks wasten their ancetres alms
“ in pomp and pride, glotony and other vanities ; and
“ they wolden take agen the superfluity of temporal goods,
“ and help the lond, and themselves and their tenants ;
“ these worldly clerks crien fastly that they ben cursed for
“ entermitting of holy church goods, as if secular lords and
“ the commons weren no part of holy Church : that in eche
“ parish-church a common thief and mansleer shall be re-
“ ceived forty days at the least ;—and that to meyntene
“ this resset and nourishment of thieves, our worldly clerks
“ wolen cost and travel, and live and die.”* In his Dia-
logues he disputes against the Papal indulgences, and that
antichristian power which the Popes claim to themselves ;
a power, as he describes it, *“ of making new laws, and
“ willing the whole Church militant, under pain of the most
“ grievous censure, to believe them ; so that whatsoever he
“ has defined in them shall stand as the Gospel of Christ.”*
For this his speaking the truth, Dr. Wiclif soon met
with a great deal of trouble and vexation. Of this he often
complains. *“ If there be any,”* saith he, *“ that draw the
“ Clergy to poverty and devotion, and reprove their pride*

Of Servants
and Lords.
MS.

Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.
MS. c. 11.
c. 20.

Lib. iv. c. 32.

Of Clerks
Possession-
ers. MS.
c. 27.

“ and hypocrisie, he shall be cleped hypocrite, destroyer of
 “ holy Church, &c. Our worldly clerks meyntenen their
 “ worldly life by hypocrisy, by false excusations, and false
 “ expounding of holy Writ, and hard persecution of poor
 “ priests that prechen Christ’s meekness, his wilful poverty,
 “ and ghostly business, and witnessen that prelates shulden
 “ * sue Christ in these three especially. For these poor * follow.
 “ priests ben slander’d for hereticks, cursed and prisoned
 “ withouten answer, forasmuch as they stonden for Christ’s
 “ life, and teching and meyntenance of the King’s regalie,
 “ and power of secular lords, and saving of Christen mens
 “ souls agenst Antichrist’s traiterie, and hypocrisie of his
 “ weiward disciples, that envenym and destroien holy
 “ Church.”

CHAP.
III.Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.
MS. c. 1.

For not only did Dr. Wiclif shew himself a strenuous
 defender of the King’s regalie, and the power of the tem-
 poral lords in opposition to the Papal usurpations; but he
 very freely reproved the corruptions that at that time pre-
 vailed among all sorts and conditions of people, but espe-
 cially among the Prelates, Religious, and inferior Clergy. It
 was an observation of his, “ That the abomination of de- Dial. fol. 70.
 “ solation has its beginning from a perverse Clergy, as
 “ comfort arises from a converted Clergy.” In the first
 place therefore he reproves their pride and covetousness.
 “ Prelates,” says he, “ comen instead of Apostles, and seyn
 “ that they suen Christ and his Apostles in manner of
 “ living: they owen to be most meke of all other, and
 “ most busy and studying and teching of holy Writ, and
 “ ensample of all good manner of life, both to Cristen men
 “ and to Hethen. But they ben so choaked with talow of
 “ worldly goods, and occupation abouten them, that they
 “ may not preache the Gospel, and warne the people of the
 “ devil’s deceits. Prelates maken themselves most unable
 “ to keep the Gospel of Christ, by their great business
 “ abouten rotten goods, and by pomp and boast of this
 “ world, for they ben most busy of all men in the world to
 “ gotten worldly goods by purchase, and to holden them
 “ by false plea. O Lord, what token of mekenes, and for- Ibid. c. 3.

Of Prelates.
MS. c. 1.

Ibid. c. 40.

Ibid. c. 19.

CHAP. III. *"saking of worldly riches is this? A Prelate, as an Abbot*

"or a Priour that is dead to the world, and pride and
"vanity thereof, to ride with fourscore horse, with harness
"of silver and gold, and many ragged and fittred squires,
"and other men, swering heart, and bones, and nails, and
"other members of Christ: and to spend with earls and
"barons, and their poor tenants, both thousand marcs and
"pounds, to meyntene a false plea of the world, and for-
 Of Prelates. *"bare men of their right."* On the same account he re-
 MS. c. 9. proves them for *"disceyving poor men of their alms, and*
"by false pardon, making men to geve their nedy liflode
"to their cathedral churches that have no need, and
"making the poor men, to hope of more thank of God's
"mercy, to don their alms to rich houses, and rich men,
"more than to don it to their poor neighbours that ben bed-
"rid, feeble, and crooked, and blind, and therewith have
"nought of their own." As for less or inferior Curates, he
 blamed them, *"that they forsaken holy life, and true*
"preching of Christ and his Apostles, for business and
"worship of the world."

The Romish Clergy thus applying themselves to the
 things of this world, and neglecting the proper business of
 their function, we may well conceive conduced not a little
 to that ignorance and barbarity, which at this time, in a
 Lyndwood, manner, overwhelmed their Order. By a council held at
 de Offi. Ar. Oxford, 1222, it was provided, that the archdeacons, in
 c. 1. their visitations, should *"see that the Clergy knew how to*
 Archbishop Wake's Vi- *"pronounce aright the form of baptism, and say the words*
 sitation *"of consecration in the canon of the mass,"* which at that
 Charge, time were to be said in Latin, and are at this day in the Ro-
 1706. mish Missal pointed, that the priests may not mispronounce
 them. Dr. Wiclif assures us, that in his time there *"were*
 Great Sen- *"many unable curates that kunnen not the ten command-*
 tence of *"ments, ne read their Sauter, ne understond a verse of it.*
 Curse ex- *"Nay, that it was then notorious that too many of even*
 pounded. MS. c. 3. 16. *"the Prelates were sinners, in their being ignorant of the*
 Trialo. fol. *"law of God, and that the Freres supplied, for the Bishops,*
 66, 72. *"the office of preaching, which they did in so false and so-*

“*phistical a manner, that the Church was deceyved instead* CHAP.
“*of being edified.*” The Romish Church, ever since its III.
apostasy, has taken most effectual care not to be reckoned
a *preaching Church*. And if therefore there be any truth
in the observation, that a *preaching Church cannot stand*,
she has not at all contributed this way to her fall. “If Archbishop
“her people went to mass on Sundays and holy-days, eat Wake’s Vi-
“no flesh on Fridays and other fasting days, confessed sitation
“and communicated at Easter, and paid their church dues, Charge,
“all was well.” Of this Dr. Wiclif was very sensible, 1706.
and therefore he reproveth the Prelates and Curates for that
they “*preachen not Christ’s Gospel in word and dede, by* Of Prelates.
“*which Christen men shulden live holy life in charity;* MS. c. 9. 40.
“*that though they taken the charge and office to lead the*
“*people by so perilous ways and enemies by true preching*
“*of the Gospel, and ensample of their own holy life; yet*
“*they suffren Christian souls be strangled with wolves of*
“*hell thorough their dumbness, and occupying about the*
“*world.—And to fulfil the fendes cruelty, pursuen and*
“*cursen if any poor priest wole preche freely Christ’s Gos-*
“*pel, and deliver Christen souls out of the fend’s honds,*
“*and leaden them the right way to heaven.*” So again he
complains, that “*when the Prelate or Curate is charged of*
“*God upon pain of his own damnation to teche the Gospel*
“*and commandments of God to all his * sugets, and there- * subjects.*
“*with cannot teche thus, or may not for worldly businesse,*
“*or wole not for idleness or negligence, then they lett other*
“*to preche freely the Gospel and save mens souls, but then*
“*they senden other that tellen lesings, fables, and chroni-*
“*cles, and robben the people by false beggings, and dare*
“*not tell them their great sins and avoutrie, for fear of*
“*† lesen winning or friendship.*” † destroy-

To justify this neglect of preaching, it was then said, that
“*men shulden cesse of preaching and geven to holy prayers* How Anti-
“*and contemplation, for that helpeth more Christen men* christ, &c.
“*and is better.*” To this Dr. Wiclif replied, that “*true* feren true
“*men seyn boldly that true ^b preching is better than pray-* MS. preaching.

^b John de Thoresby, Archbishop of York, in his Constitutions made about

CHAP.
III.

“ing by mouth, yea though it come of heart, and clene
 “devotion; and it edifieth more the people, and therefore
 “Christ commanded specially the Apostles and Disciples
 “to preche the Gospel, and not to close them in cloisters, ne
 “churches, ne stoves, to pray thus. And therefore Isaiah
 “said, Woe is to me for I was still. And Paul seith, Woe
 “is to me if I preche not the Gospel. And God to the pro-
 “phet, If he shew not to the sinful his sins, he shall be
 * always. “damned therefore.—Thus preching is * algates best;
 “nethless devout prayer of men of good life is good in cer-
 “tain time, but it is agenst charity for priests to pray
 “evermore, and no time to prech, sith Christ chargeth
 “priests more for to preche the Gospel than to saye masse
 “or matins.—And thus seith Paul, that God sent him
 “for to preche the Gospel, and not to christen men.” Dr.
 Wiclif concludes thus: “Lord! what charity is it to a
 † knowing. “† kunning man to chese his own contemplation in rest, and
 “suffer other men to go to hell for breking of God’s hests,
 “when he may lightly teche them, and gett more thank of
 “God in little teching than by long time in such prayers.
 “Therefore priests shulden study holy Writt, and kepe it in
 “their own life, and teche it other men truly and freely,
 “and that is best and most charity; and in certain times
 “pray devoutly, and have sorrow for their sins, and other
 “mens. And then they shullen be as the firmament over
 “little stars, in comparison of other saints in heaven.
 “God bring us all to that glorious bliss for his endless
 “mercy!”

Of Clerks
 Possession-
 ers, c. 1.
 MS.

He likewise blamed the *Clerks Possessioners* (as they were
 called to distinguish them from the *Friars Mendicant*, who
 were allowed to have no other possessions than the sites of
 their houses,) or the Abbats, Priors, and Monks, for taking
 benefices with cure by appropriation, which, he said, “was
 “often made by false suggestion and simonie.” He likewise
 observed, that “these spiritual appropriators did not teche
 “the parishioners of these cures, whose benefices they en-

1360, exhorts the people to here Goddis lawe taught in their modyr tonge; for
 that is bettyr than to here many massys.

“joied, God’s lawe, nor minister to them the sacraments,
 “nor relieve poor men with residue of the tithes and offer-
 “ings, or what was more than a competency to maintain
 “themselves and their families, but set there a Vicar or pa-
 “rish Priest for little cost, or with a small stipend, though
 “he be unable both of kunning and life, or not qualified on
 “account of learning and manners to rule his own soul, or
 “govern himself; and for poverty of benefice he may not
 “go to school, nor learne at home for business of new sing-
 “ing and gathering of tithes, and ministering of sacraments
 “and other occupations.” And thus, he farther observed,
 “wise or learned Clerks were put out or excluded from bene-
 “fices, who might, could and would, teach the people the
 “Gospel and God’s hests or commands, and blinde leaders
 “full of covetousness, lecherie and other sins, were brought
 “in, and alms doing to poor men of the parish, and hospi-
 “tality, and sending poor children to school, were letten or
 “hindred, and so the Clergy afterward were outlawed.”

Elsewhere he complains, that “where in many Abbies Great Sen-
tence of
Curse. c. 3.
MS.
 “should be, and sometime were, great housen to harbour
 “poor men therin, now they were fallen down or made
 “c swinkotes, stables, or bark-housen: and, that the Ab- How Satan’s
Clerks, &c.
c. 1. MS.
 “bats, &c. made costly feasts, and wasted many goods on
 “lords and rich men, and suffered poor men to starve, and
 “perish for hunger and other mischiefs.” So far were the
 Religious, at this time, from relieving all the poor of the
 nation at their gates.

But, as it has been very justly observed, that “it is the Wharton’s
Preface to
Bishop Pe-
cock’s Trea-
tise of Faith.
 “usual state of the opposers of inveterate evils seldom to
 “escape the persecution, but never the hatred of those
 “who are engaged both by zeal and interest in the conti-
 “nuance of those evils;” so Dr. Wiclif sufficiently expe-
 rienced the truth of this remark, being not only hated but
 persecuted by those whom he endeavoured to reform, as
 will be shewn in the remaining part of this history.

At present, however, things seem to have gone well with
 him. Whilst he was employed by the King in the embas-
 sy before mentioned to meet the Pope’s ambassadors, he

CHAP.
III.Bishop Kennet's Coll.
MS.

had given him by the King the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester; the King's letters patent of ratification being dated November 6, 1375. About the same time the Doctor seems to have been presented by the King to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in the diocese of Lincoln, in the minority of the Lord Henry de Ferrars de Groby, who was then the true patron of it. The institution of Dr. Wiclif is not preserved in the Bishop's register, but the following entry is there made of ^d John de Morhouse, Dr. Wiclif's immediate successor in this rectory, viz. "that the jury returned," on a dispute, I suppose, about the right of patronage, the King having presented the turn before, "that the said church of Lutterworth was first vacant the last day of December last past, 1384, by the death of John Wicliff, the last rector: that the Lord Henry de Ferrars of Groby was the true patron, and that our Lord King Edward III. presented the said John Wicliffe to the same, last of all, on account of the minority of the said Lord Henry de Ferrars." However, it is not improbable that his having this rectory and prebend given him served to sharpen the malice of his adversaries, who no doubt were moved with envy to see a man whom they counted an enemy to the Church, and a false brother, thus promoted by the royal favour. But of this more in the next chapter.

^d Johan. de Morhouse presbyter per Dominum Henr. de Ferrariis de Groby ad Eccle. de Lutterworth. Inquisitores dicunt, quod dicta Ecclesia incepit vacare ultimo die Decem. ultimo præteriti [1384] per mortem Joannis Wycliff ultimi rectoris ejusdem. Item, dicunt, quod Dominus Henricus de Ferrariis de Groby est verus patronus, et quod Dominus noster Edwardus tertius Rex, ratione minoris ætatis dicti Domini Henrici de Ferrariis dictum Dominum Johannem Wycliff ultimo presentavit ad eandem. Dictus Johannes Morhouse admissus est 8 Kal. Febru. 1384. *Reg. Bokyngham. e col. Ep. Kennet. MS.*

CHAP. IV.

Dr. Wiclif is complained of to the Pope: Nineteen Articles are objected to him: the Pope sends his Bulls to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, whom he appoints his Commissioners to examine Wiclif, and to the University of Oxford, and writes a letter to the King. Dr. Wiclif appears before the Pope's Delegates at St. Paul's, London; that Court breaks up in confusion, and meets again at Lambeth. Pope Gregory dies. A Schism at Rome. Dr. Wiclif falls sick, and recovers.

ON Dr. Wiclif's being thus promoted to a benefice with cure of souls, he was obliged by his principles to reside on it, and personally to perform its several duties. And therefore, it is probable, he now left Oxford, or however was always at Lutterworth during the vacations. Here, as it appears by his sermons yet remaining in MS. he performed the office of a very diligent and edifying preacher, since he preached not only on Sundays, but on the several festivals of the Church, and of a most exemplary and unwearied pastor. Chaucer seems in his description of a country parson to have had him, this friend and acquaintance of his, in his thoughts.

—— Riche (says he) he was of holi thought and werke.

He was * als a lerned man and a clerk,
That Christ's Gospell trewly wold preche,
His parishners devoutly wolde he teche.

* else, besides.

—— He ne left neither for raine ne thonder

In sikeness ne in mischief to visite

The ferthest in his parish much or * lite,

* little.

Upon his fete, and in his hand a staff.

This gode ensample to his shepe he gaffe,

That first he wrought, and afterward he taught,

Out of the Gospell he the wordis caught.

And this figure he added * eke thereto,

* also.

That if gold rustid, what should iron do?

CHAP.
IV.

But however this be, Dr. Wiclif, it is sure, being thus impartial in his endeavours to reform a corrupt age, made himself a great many enemies, who accordingly waited for an opportunity to avenge themselves of him. As soon as ever therefore he began in his public lectures to oppose the Papal powers and usurpations, and to defend the royal supremacy, he was complained of to the Pope, to whom his adversaries, who most probably were the Religious, sent nineteen articles, inclosed in a letter, extracted from Dr. Wiclif's public lectures and sermons. This seems to have been done the latter end of this year, for the Pope's Bulls bear date the beginning of the next. By the copies of them yet remaining, it appears that these articles, though they were generally the same as to the matter, were yet reported to the Pope in different forms. The copy which Sir Henry Spelman has put in his Collection of the English Councils, is to the following effect:

- Coll. No. 18. 1. "All mankind that have been since Christ have not power simply to ordain, that Peter and all his family should have political dominion over the world.
2. "God cannot give to man for himself and his heirs civil dominion for ever.
3. "Charters of human invention concerning a perpetual inheritance hereafter, are impossible.
4. "Every one that is finally justified, hath not only a right to, but in fact enjoys all the things of God.
5. "Man can only ministerially give to his natural child, or to a child of imitation in the school of Christ, temporal or eternal dominion."

These five articles seem to have been understood as intended against the temporal dominions of the Popes, and to shew, that the Emperor's grants of them may be resumed: and, that St. Peter and his successors have no power given them of civil or political dominion. This was what the Popes now claimed, and extended it so far as to assert a right of superiority over the princes of this world, and of depriving them of their kingdoms whenever they thought fit.

6. "If God is, temporal lords may lawfully and merito-

“ riously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent
“ Church.

7. “ Whether the Church be in such a state or not, is not
“ my business to examine, but the business of temporal
“ lords; who, if they find it in such a state, are to act
“ boldly, and on the penalty of damnation to take away its
“ temporalties.”

In these two articles the regal is asserted, in opposition to the papal pretensions of an ecclesiastical liberty, or an exemption of the persons of the Clergy and the goods of the Church from the civil powers.

8. “ We know that it is impossible that the Vicar of
“ Christ should purely by his Bulls, or by them with the
“ will and consent of himself and his College of Cardinals,
“ qualify or disqualify any one.

9. “ It is not possible for a man to be excommunicated,
“ unless he be first and principally excommunicated by
“ himself.

10. “ Nobody is excommunicated, suspended, or tor-
“ mented with other censures, so that he is the worse for
“ it, unless it be in the cause of God.

11. “ Cursing or excommunication does not bind simply,
“ but only so far as it is denounced against an adversary of
“ the law of Christ.

12. “ Christ has given to his disciples no example of a
“ power to excommunicate subjects, principally for their
“ denying them temporal things, but has rather given them
“ an example to the contrary.

13. “ The disciples of Christ have no power forcibly to
“ exact temporal things by censures.

14. “ It is not possible even for the absolute power of
“ God, that if the Pope or any other pretend that he binds
“ or looses at any rate, that he does therefore actually bind
“ and loose.

15. “ We ought to believe that then only does the Pope,
“ &c. bind or loose, when he conforms himself to the law
“ of Christ.

CHAP.
IV.

16. "This ought to be universally believed, that every priest rightly ordained has a power of administering every one of the sacraments, and by consequence of absolving every contrite person from any sin."

These nine articles relate to what is called the *power of the keys*, which Dr. Wiclif affirmed to be only conditional, upon a supposition of the person's being either an adversary of the law of Christ, or conforming himself to it: whereas the Pope maintained, that he had a *power of remitting or retaining the sins of this or that individual person* absolutely: that he could purely by his Bulls qualify or disqualify any one for eternal life and salvation: that men were the worse for *his* excommunication, though they were not excommunicated by themselves, their own wicked lives, or in the cause of God: that *his* cursing or excommunication bound *simply or absolutely*, and, that if he bound or loosed at any rate, he did actually bind and loose. The twelfth and thirteenth articles are against the abuse of ecclesiastical censures by applying them to temporal things, which was then very usual with the Popish Clergy, who made use of excommunication to oblige people, who were backward in paying, to pay them their tithes and offerings. The sixteenth article is in opposition to the Papal indulgences, and the Pope's reserving to himself, for the sake of worldly lucre, the giving absolution in some special cases.

17. "It is lawful for kings to take away the temporalties from ecclesiastics who habitually abuse them."

18. "Whether temporal lords, or holy Popes, or saints, or the Head of the Church, which is Christ, have endowed the Church with the goods of fortune or of grace, and have excommunicated those who take away its temporalties, it is notwithstanding lawful, on account of the condition implied in the endowment, to spoil her of the temporalties for a proportionable offence."

These two articles are of the same nature with the sixth and seventh, asserting a power to kings and temporal lords to take away lordships and manors from churchmen, when

they are habitually abused by them to the maintenance of pride and luxury, and to the utter neglect of the condition implied in the donation of them at first.

19. "An ecclesiastic, yea, even the Pope of Rome, may lawfully be corrected by subjects, and even the laity, and may also be accused or impeached by them."

This article was afterwards thus represented by the Council of Constance; "People may at their pleasure correct their princes when they do amiss." But however the Pope himself might resent this as an affront to the plenitude of his power, and his lifeguard the Friars exclaim against it as heresy; it appears that this was however afterwards maintained as the common faith and opinion of the English Roman Catholics, that the Pope was not so far superior as in no case to be accountable and punished for any evil done by him; but that "there were orders in the Church of Christ by which a Pope may be both *admonished* and *amended* or *punished*, and hath ben for incorrigible mind and lacke of amendment fynally deposed and changed."

Sir Thomas
More's Eng.
Works, p.
621, col. 2.

As soon as the Pope had received these articles with the complaint against Dr. Wiclif for asserting them, he dispatched several Bulls, dated all on the same day, to Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, Bishop of London, whom he delegated to examine into the matter of this complaint; one to the King himself, and another to the University of Oxford. In the first of those to the Archbishop and Bishop of London, he tells them, that "now it is plain that in that very kingdom which used to produce men endued with a right knowledge of the Scriptures, grave, devout, and champions of the orthodox faith, there are now those who by their office ought to be watchmen, who are slothfully negligent; insomuch that the latent motions and open attempts of the enemies are perceived at Rome, situated at a great distance, before they are opposed in England: that he had heard with a great deal of concern, by the in-

May 22,
1377.
Coll. No. 14.

Coll. No. 16.

12.

Coll. No. 15.

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IV.

“ formation of several very worthy to be credited, that John
 “ Wiclif, Rector of Lutterworth in the diocese of Lin-
 “ coln, and Professor of Divinity, he wished he was not a
 “ master of errors, had rashly proceeded to that detesta-
 “ ble degree of madness, as not to be afraid to assert, dog-
 “ matize, and publicly to preach such propositions as are
 “ erroneous and false, contrary to the faith, and threaten-
 “ ing to subvert and weaken the estate of the whole
 “ Church. He therefore requires them privately to inform
 “ themselves whether or no he did teach such conclusions
 “ as were in the schedule he had sent them inclosed in his
 “ Bull; and if they found that he did so, that they should
 “ cause the said John Wiclif to be apprehended by his
 “ authority, and laid in gaol; and that they should endea-
 “ vour to get his confession concerning the said proposi-
 “ tions and conclusions; and the confession, and whatever
 “ the said John shall say or write by way of induction or
 “ proof of the same propositions, and whatsoever else they
 “ should do in the premises, they should transmit to him
 “ by a faithful messenger, sealed with their own seals, and
 “ disclosed to nobody; and that they should keep the said
 “ John in sure custody, until they received his further
 “ commands touching this matter.”

Coll.No.14. In a second Bull to the same venerable persons, the Pope
 orders them, that “ in case they cannot apprehend the said
 “ John Wiclif, and put him in prison, they should fix a
 “ citation in such public places as were most likely to con-
 “ vey the knowledge of it to the said Wiclif, for his per-
 “ sonally appearing before the Pope within three months,
 “ to be reckoned from the day of the date of the citation.”

Coll.No.13. In a third Bull of the same date, to the same persons,
 the Pope commands them “ to cause King Edward, and the
 “ sons and kindred of the said King, the Princess of Aqu-
 “ tain and Wales, and others of the English nobility, and the
 “ King’s counsellors, to be fully instructed by themselves
 “ and other Doctors, and men skilled in the sacred letters
 “ who are not defiled with these errors, but are sincere and

“ fervent in the faith; and that it be shewn to them that
 “ these conclusions are not only erroneous with respect
 “ to the faith, but that they infer an utter destruction of all
 “ polity or government; and that they straitly require them,
 “ that for the extirpation of so great errors they would
 “ effectually contribute their favour and assistance.”

The Pope likewise wrote to the * King himself to desire * K. Edw.
 he would afford the patronage of his favour and assistance III.
 to the aforesaid Bishops in the prosecution of Wiclif.
 “ He begins with commending the kingdom over which Coll. No. 16.
 “ his Majesty ruled, as glorious in power and riches, but
 “ more illustrious for the piety of its faith, and for its using
 “ to shine with the brightness of the sacred page: then he Sacrae pagi-
 “ tells his Majesty, that with great bitterness of heart he nae claritate
 “ had understood by the intimation of men worthy of cre- coruscum
 “ dit, that John de Wiclif, Rector of the Church of Lutter- consuevit.
 “ worth, in the diocese of Lincoln, Professor of Divinity,
 “ had broached opinions full of errors, and containing mani-
 “ fest heresy, some of which seemed to be the same with
 “ those of Marcillus de Padua, of condemned memory, and
 “ John de Gandun, who stands condemned by Pope John
 “ XXII. of happy memory: and that therefore he being
 “ willing not to overlook so great an evil, had commission-
 “ ed his venerable brethren the Archbishop of Canterbury,
 “ &c. to prosecute the said John Wiclif: and since in such a
 “ prosecution they would need the favour and assistance of
 “ his Highness, he therefore earnestly prays him, that for
 “ the reverence he bore to God, to the faith, and to the
 “ Apostolic see, he would grant them his favour and protec-
 “ tion.”

The two persons here mentioned, Marsilius de Padua,
 and John de Gandun, or Jandun, (whose opinions the
 Pope, in his several Bulls to the King, the Archbishop, and
 Universities, says Dr. Wiclif seems to have broached,) Bellarmin.
 stand condemned in an *Extravagant* of Pope John XXII. for Chronol.
 holding, that St. Peter, and consequently his successors, brevis,
 was not the Head of the Church. John de Ganduno, or of p. 111.
 Gaunt, or, according to others, de Laon, was a lawyer who Dupin, Ec-
 clesiast.
 Hist.

CHAP. flourished about 1330 or 1338, and wrote a treatise ^a Of the
IV. Power of the Church, which is now lost. Dupin observes

Fasciculus
Rerum, &c.

of him, that in opposing the false pretensions of the Pope, he ran into the opposite extreme, and attributed to princes too much, and debased the authority of the Prelates. Marsilius was a very celebrated lawyer, and counsellor to his Imperial Majesty A. D. 1324. At which time, not enduring that the Emperor's dignity should be so trampled on, as it then was, by the papal tyranny, he wrote and published a book entitled, A Defender of the Peace, or of the Imperial and Pontifical State, against the usurped Jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome. In this book he shewed, "that
" so far was the Emperor from being a subject of the Pope's,
" that the Pope ought to submit to him, and that not only in
" temporals, but also in spirituals, as to the outward govern-
" ment or discipline of the Church." He likewise proved very largely, that "by divine right the Popes of Rome have
" not the least prerogative of power or preeminence above
" other Bishops." This put Pope John, who was then in the chair, into a very great rage, and therefore three years after he published the decree above mentioned, wherein he declares John of Gaunt and Marsilius to be heretics, and devotes them to eternal destruction.

By this we may see what Dr. Wiclif's great crime was, *viz.* his opposing the papal supremacy and ecclesiastical liberty, as it was called, a pretence not so much as once thought of in the Church's purer times, but now carried to that extravagant height, as that the Pope claimed not only to be a successor of the prince of the Apostles, but even to be the sovereign lord of kings, and the arbitrary disposer of kingdoms. But to return.

Coll. No. 12. At the same time that the Pope sent these four Bulls, a Bull of the very same date with them was dispatched to the University of Oxford, and sent by a particular messenger, one Edmund Stafford; in which the Pope tells them, that

^a De Nullitate Processuum Papæ Johannis XXII. contra Ludovicum Bav. Imperatorem pro superioritate Imperatoris in temporalibus. Jo. Deckherius de Scriptis adespotis, p. 99.

“ he is obliged to admire and lament that through a sort
 “ of sloth and laziness they permit *tares* to spring up
 “ among the *pure wheat* of the glorious field of their Uni-
 “ versity, and, which is more pernicious, even to grow ripe,
 “ without applying any care to ^b root them out: that he was
 “ the more sensibly tormented, for that the increase of these
 “ tares was perceived at Rome before it was taken any no-
 “ tice of in England, where yet the remedy ought to be ap-
 “ plied: that he had been informed that John de Wiclif,
 “ &c. had broken out into that detestable madness, as even
 “ in the kingdom of England, glorious for its power and
 “ wealth, but more glorious for its illustrious faith and
 “ piety, &c. to dogmatize and preach publicly some propo-
 “ sitions that are erroneous and false, and savouring of he-
 “ retical pravity, and which also tend to *subvert the state*
 “ *of the whole Church, and even the civil government*: he
 “ therefore strictly commands the University, in virtue of
 “ their obedience to the holy See, and under the penalty of
 “ being deprived of all graces, indulgences, and privileges
 “ granted to them and the University by the said see,
 “ that for the future they suffer none to teach any of the
 “ said conclusions: and that they take or cause to be taken
 “ by his (the Pope’s) authority, the said John Wiclif, and de-
 “ liver him up in safe custody to the Archbishop of Canter-
 “ bury and Bishop of London, or either of them, and that
 “ they should take the same course with those that op-
 “ posed the execution of this Bull, or who were defiled
 “ with these errors.”

This Bull, it seems, was far enough from being any way acceptable to the University. When they first heard of the reason of the coming of the Pope’s Nuncio, who brought this Bull to them a few days before Christmas, the Heads continued for some time uncertain whether they should

Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Angl. p.
205, 209.

^b The Pope seems to have forgot our blessed Saviour’s advice, Matt. xiii. 28,
 29. “ The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather
 “ them (the tares) up? But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye
 “ root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the har-
 “ vest.”

CHAP. receive the Bull with honour, or wholly reject it with dis-
IV. grace. And accordingly when they had received it, the
commands contained in it were obeyed very coldly, and
with very little devotion.

* He died
June 21,
1377.
Coll.No.17. Before these Bulls reached England, which they seem
not to have done till November this year, 1377, *King Ed-
ward was dead: however, the Archbishop and Bishop of
London proceeded to execute the Pope's Bulls; and not
being able to get Dr. Wiclif delivered up to them by
the University of Oxford, who plainly favoured and pro-
tected him, they issued out their mandate to the Chancel-
lor of the University of Oxford, and diocese of Lincoln, in
which Wiclif was beneficed, who at this time was Adam
de Toneworth, or his deputy; in which they recited the
tenor of the Pope's Bull mentioned before, of which they
sent him a copy, and "enjoined him in all things to exe-
cute it diligently and faithfully. They likewise com-
manded him to call to his assistance such divines as were
skilful and orthodox, to inform himself privately of the
asserting the conclusions sent to them by the Pope, of
which they gave him a copy, and to certify to them in
their letters sealed with the University seal, what they
found and thought of them. Moreover, they commanded
him to cite or cause to be cited peremptorily John Wic-
lif to appear personally before them in the church of
St. Paul's, London, the thirtieth court-day after the date
of this citation, which was Thursday, the 19th of Fe-
bruary."

Cotton's A-
bridg.p.154. Before this day came, King Richard the Second's first Par-
MS. in Hy-
peroo Bodl. liament met at Westminster on the 13th of October. Dur-
No. 163. ing the reign of King Edward III. the Popes keeping their
Sir Roger residence at Avignon, and being many of them Frenchmen,
Twisden, their partiality to their own country, and the many victo-
Hist. Vind. ries obtained by the English over the French, occasioned
p. 76. the following proverb: *Ore est Pape devenu François, et le su
devenu Anglois, &c.* About which time, our historians ob-
serve, that Prince commanded that no Peter-pence should
be gathered or paid to the Popes, which prohibition conti-

nued all that King's reign. But whether or no the Pope, on the accession of his grandson to the crown, thought that a good opportunity to regain this profitable income, it seems that in this his first Parliament it was debated, "whether the kingdom of England, on an imminent necessity of its own defence, may lawfully detain the treasure of the kingdom, that it be not carried out of the land, although the Lord Pope required its being carried out on the pain of censures, and by virtue of the obedience due to him." The resolution of this doubt was referred by the King and Parliament to Dr. Wiclif, who answered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it so by the principles of the law of Christ. Urging that common maxim of divines, that *extra casus necessitatis et superfluitatis eleemosyna non est in præcepto*; Alms are not required to be given but to those who are in need, and by such as have more than they want themselves. By which it appears, that Dr. Wiclif's opinion was, that the Peter-pence paid to the Pope were not a *just due*, but only an *alms*, or charitable gift.

Fox's Acts
and Monu-
ments, vol.
i. p. 584.

In this Parliament many petitions were made by the Commons to the King, in relation to the Pope's collector, the farmers of aliens' benefices, &c. by which they say this kingdom was every year drained of its treasure. They therefore pray the King, that "the Pope's collector be willed to gather no longer the first-fruits of benefices within this realm, his doing so being a very novelty, and that no other person do any longer pay them: that no man do procure any benefice by provision from Rome, upon pain to be put out of the King's protection: that no Englishman do take to farm of any alien, any ecclesiastical benefice or prebend on the like pain: on which occasion they observe, that the French alone had 6000 pounds yearly of such livings in England. They further pray remedy against the Pope's reservations to dignities elective, the same being done against the treaty of the Pope taken with King Edward III. and that all aliens, as well Religious as others, do by Candlemass next avoid

Cotton's A-
bridgment,
p. 160, 162.

CHAP. IV. “the realm, and that all their lands and goods during the war may be employed thereto, for divers causes declared in their bill.”

Fox's Acts,
&c. vol. i.
p. 558, c. 1.

The Image
of both
Churches,
p. 253.

Dr. Wiclif, as is very probable, having notice given him by the Heads of the University of his danger, and the tenor of the Pope's Bull, thought himself obliged to provide for his own safety, and accordingly put himself under the protection of John Duke of Lancaster, to whom he had been long known, and who had conceived a very good opinion of him for his learning and integrity. With him he seems to have been, when he was cited to appear before the Pope's delegates. It has been said that the Duke, being apprehensive that Dr. Wiclif being single and alone would be discouraged by the greatness of the appearance at St. Paul's, ordered a Bachelor of Divinity of every one of the four Orders of Friars to be joined with him for his assistance: but this seems very improbable; Dr. Wiclif, by his detecting their frauds, superstitions, and wickednesses, having made them all his enemies. And it is not therefore very likely that any of the Friars would be engaged in the defence of a man whom they would have been glad to have seen ruined. However this be, it is certain that the Duke himself, together with the Lord Henry Piercy, Earl Marshal, accompanied Dr. Wiclif to St. Paul's on the day fixed for his appearance. This, it is said by an enemy to Dr. Wiclif's memory, the Duke did for the Doctor's better protection and encouragement, to discountenance the Bishop, and to animate and increase Wiclif's sectaries and followers in their course. However this be, there being a vast concourse of people about the church, Dr. Wiclif could not get through the crowd to the place where the court sat. Upon which the Earl Marshal going first, made use of his authority to disperse the people, and make way for him. But notwithstanding, such was the greatness of the throng, that it was not without great difficulty that the two lords and Dr. Wiclif could pass through it; and this therefore making some stir, Bishop ^c Courtney, not

^c “Archbishop Sudbury seems not to have been so great a zealot in behalf of

being well pleased to see Dr. Wiclif so honourably attended, told the Earl Marshal, that "if he had known beforehand what maistries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there." The Duke of Lancaster resenting such threatening language, since they had made no more stir than was necessary to get through the crowd, answered the Bishop, that "he would keep such maistry there though he said nay." At last, after much struggling, they came to our Lady's chapel, behind the high altar, where the Archbishop and Bishop of London were sitting, together with some other Bishops, and some Dukes and Barons, who were there to hear the trial. Dr. Wiclif, according to custom, stood before the commissioners as one cited to appear there to hear what things they had to lay to his charge. But the Earl Marshal, out of tenderness for Dr. Wiclif, and having but little regard to a court which owed all its authority to a foreign power, bid him sit down, telling him "he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of a soft seat" to rest him upon during so tedious an attendance. The Bishop of London hearing that, answered, "he should not sit there; for," says he, "it is neither according to law or reason, that he who was cited here to answer before his Ordinary (the Lord Pope) should sit downe during the time of his answer;" adding, that if he could have guessed, that the Earl Marshal would have played the master there, or been so troublesome, he would not have suffered him to come into the court. On which many angry words passed betwixt the Bishop and the Earl Marshal. The Duke of Lancaster took the Earl Marshal's part, and told the Bishop, that

the Papal power and superstitions as this Bishop. The monkish writer of his life tells us, that this Archbishop going to Canterbury overtook some going thither in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket's shrine, and told them that the plenary indulgence they expected at Canterbury was of no use nor value. On which a Kentish knight in the company, being very angry at the Archbishop's being so very injurious to the glorious martyr, told him he should for this crime of his die an unnatural death, as he did, being beheaded in the insurrection of the Boors. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 49, 50.

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“ the Earl Marshal’s motion was but reasonable, and that
 “ as for him who was grown so proud and arrogant, he
 “ would bring down the pride not only of him, but of all
 “ the Prelacy of England: that he depended upon the
 “ greatness of his^d family, but that they should have
 “ enough to do to support themselves.” To which haugh-
 ty and imperious threat, the Bishop is said to have re-
 turned this mild answer; “ That he placed no confidence ei-
 “ ther in his relations or in any man else, but depended on
 “ God alone, who, he trusted, would give him the boldness
 “ to speak the truth.” But this soft reply did not, it
 seems, cool the Duke’s passion, who highly resented the
 Bishop’s telling the Earl Marshal, that if he had been aware
 of his behaviour in opposing the authority and orders of
 the Court, he would not have suffered him to come into it
 with Dr. Wiclif. To one therefore who sat just by him,
 the Duke said softly, that “ rather than take what the Bi-
 “ shop said at his hands, he would pluck him by the hair
 “ of his head out of the church.” These last words were
 not, it seems, whispered so closely, but that some of the
 standers-by overheard them, who being enraged to see the
 Bishop thus roughly treated in his own Cathedral, declared
 aloud, they would rather lose their lives than suffer the Bi-
 shop to be thus threatened and contemptuously used. This
 occasioned the assembly to grow very tumultuous and dis-
 orderly, so that the Court was forced to break up without
 doing any thing.

A. D. 1378.

*This is un-
certain.Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Angliæ, p.
205.

In * April following the Delegates sat again for the ex-
 ecution of their commission, in the Archbishop’s chapel at
 Lambeth, where, it is said, Dr. Wiclif appeared again, be-
 ing, I suppose, a second time cited: but that not only the
 e London citizens, but the mob presumed to force them-

^d He was fourth son of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by Margaret,
 daughter to Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his wife Eliza-
 beth, daughter of King Edward I. *Barnes’s History of King Edward III.* p. 904.

^e Favore et diligencia Londinensium delusit suos examinatores, Episcopos
 derisit, et pro tunc evasit, amplius non compariturus coram dictis Episcopis,
 citra mortem Gregorii Pape. *Walsingham, Hist. Ang.*

selves into the chapel, and to speak in Dr. Wiclif's behalf, to the great terror of the Delegates: and that the Queen Mother sent Sir ^fLewis Clifford to them, to forbid them to proceed to any definitive sentence against him. With which message the Delegates are said to have been very much confounded. "At the wind of a reed shaken," says the historian, "their speech became as soft as oil, to the public loss of their own dignity, and the damage of the whole Church. They were struck with such a dread, that you would think them to be as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs."

At this second meeting of the Pope's Delegates Dr. Wiclif is said to have delivered a ^g paper, in which he ^h explained the several conclusions with which he was charged; but that it was no way satisfactory to the Delegates, who therefore ⁱ commanded him no more to repeat such propositions, either in the schools or in his sermons, on account of their giving offence to the laity. The paper is to the purpose following.

"First of all, I publicly protest, as I have often done at Walsingham, Hist. Angliæ, p. 206, 207, 208.
 "other times, that I will and purpose from the bottom of
 "my heart, by the grace of God, to be a sincere Christian,
 "and as long as I have breath, to profess and defend the
 "law of Christ so far as I am able. And if, through igno-
 "rance, or any other cause, I shall fail herein, I ask pardon
 "of God, and do now from henceforth revoke and retract
 "it, humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy
 "mother Church. And as for the opinion of children or

^f Knight of the Garter.

^g Bishop Bale calls this paper, Answers to Objections.

^h Habita declaratione super ipsis, quamvis fictè. *Murimuth. Contin.* 137.

ⁱ Dominus Archiepiscopus sibi et omnibus aliis super illa materia, præsente Domino Duce Lancastriæ, indixit silentium, prohibens quod de cetero illam materiam nullatenus tangeret aut tractaret, neque illam permetteret alios ventilare. Qui tam ipse, quam alii aliquamdiu siluerunt; tandem, contemplatione temporalium dominorum, easdem opiniones, immo illis pejores, post modum reassumentes, diutius in eorum malitiis perstiterunt. Nec ab inceptis persuasionibus destiterunt, quamvis a multis pro hujusmodi ut desisterent, fuerant sæpius requisiti. *Murimuth. Contin.* p. 137.

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“ weak people concerning the faith which I have taught in
 “ the schools and elsewhere, and which by those who are
 “ more than children has been conveyed beyond sea, even
 “ to the Court of Rome, that Christians may not be scan-
 “ dalized on my account, I am willing to set down my
 “ sense in writing, since I am prosecuted for the same.
 “ Which opinion I am willing to defend even unto death,
 “ as I believe all Christians ought to do, and especially the
 “ Pope of Rome, and the rest of the priests of the Church.
 “ I understand the conclusions according to the sense of
 “ Scripture and the holy Doctors, and the manner of speak-
 “ ing used by them; which sense I am ready to explain,
 “ and if it be proved that the conclusions are contrary to
 “ the faith, I am willing very readily to retract them.

“ I. The first conclusion is, that all mankind since
 “ Christ’s coming have not power simply or absolutely to
 “ ordain, that Peter and all his successors should rule over
 “ the world politically for ever. And it is plain, that it is
 “ not in the power of men to hinder the coming of Christ
 “ to the last judgment, which we are bound to believe ac-
 “ cording to that article of the Creed, *from thence he shall*
 “ *come to judge the living and the dead.* For after that,
 “ according to the faith delivered in Scripture, all human
 “ polity will be at an end. But I understand that political
 “ dominion, or civil secular government, does pertain to
 “ the laity, who are actually living, whilst they are absent
 “ from the Lord: for of such a political dominion do the
 “ philosophers speak. And although it be styled periodi-
 “ cal, and sometimes *perpetual*, [or for ever;] yet because
 “ in the holy Scripture, in the use of the Church, and in
 “ the writings of the philosophers, *perpetuum* is plainly
 “ used commonly in the same sense as *eternal*; I after-
 “ wards suppose that term to be used or taken in that
 “ more famous signification; for thus the Church sings,
 “ *Glory be to God the Father, and to his only Son, with*
 “ *the Holy Spirit the Comforter, both now and for ever [in*
 “ *perpetuum.]* And then the conclusion immediately fol-
 “ lows on the principles of faith; since it is not in the

“ power of men to appoint the pilgrimage of the Church to
 “ be without end. CHAP.
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“ II. *God cannot give civil dominion to any man for
 “ himself and his heirs for ever; in perpetuum. By civil
 “ dominion I mean the same that I meant above by poli-
 “ tical dominion, and by perpetual or for ever the same that
 “ I did before, as the Scripture understands the perpetual
 “ or everlasting habitations in the state of blessedness. I
 “ said therefore, first, that God of his ordinary power can-
 “ not give man civil dominion for ever. I said, secondly,
 “ that it seems probable that God of his absolute power
 “ cannot give man such a dominion, in perpetuum, for
 “ ever, because he cannot, as it seems, always imprison
 “ his Spouse on the way, nor always defer the ultimate
 “ completion of her happiness.*

“ III. *Charters of human invention concerning civil
 “ inheritance for ever are impossible. This is an incident
 “ truth. For we ought not to † reckon as Catholic all the † catholi-
 “ charters that are held by an unjust occupier. But if this care.
 “ be confirmed by the faith of the Church, there would be
 “ an opportunity given for charity, and a liberty to trust
 “ in temporalities, and to petition for them. For as every
 “ truth is necessary, so every falsehood is possible on sup-
 “ position, as is plain by the testimony of Scripture, and of
 “ the holy Doctors, who speak of the necessity of things
 “ future.*

“ IV. ^k *Every one being or existing in grace justifying
 “ finally, has not only a right unto, but in fact hath all
 “ the things of God. Or, has not only a right unto the
 “ thing, but for his time has by right a power over all the
 “ good things of God. This is plain from Scripture, Matt.
 “ xxiv. because the truth promises this to those citizens
 “ who enter into his joy; Verily I say unto you, that he*

^k Augustinus quæ dicit cuncta esse justorum, aperte refert ad illud tempus, ubi hæreditas erit æternitatis, interim humano jure vivendum est, quod esse dicit in potestate Regum. Hoc jus, et hanc potestatem qui violant, Augustinum non habent auctorem——*Rivetiani Apologetici Discussio*, p. 247.

CHAP. IV. “ *shall make him ruler over all his goods.* For the right
“ of the communion of saints in their own country is found-
“ ed objectively on the universality of the good things of
“ God.

“ V. *A man can give dominion to his natural or adopt-*
“ *ed son, whether that dominion be temporal or eternal, min-*
“ *isterially only.* This is plain from hence, that every
“ man ought to acknowledge himself in all his works an
“ humble minister of God, as is evident from Scripture;
“ *Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ.*
“ Nay Christ himself so ministered, and taught his princi-
“ pal Apostles so to minister. But in their own country
“ the saints will give to their brethren the dominion of
“ goods, as is plain from their acting in the body, or their
“ disposal of inferior good things by nature, according to
“ that of Luke vi. *Good measure, pressed down and shaken*
“ *together, and running over, shall men give into your*
“ *bosom.*

“ VI. *If God is, temporal lords may lawfully and meri-*
“ *toriously take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent*
“ *Church.* That conclusion is correlative with the first ar-
“ ticle of the Creed, *I believe in God the Father Almighty.*
“ I understand the word *may* as the Scriptures do, which
“ grant that God *may* of stones *raise up children unto*
“ *Abraham;* for otherwise all Christian princes should be
“ heretics. For the first conclusion the argument is thus
“ formed. If God is, he is almighty; and if so, he *may*
“ prescribe to temporal lords to take away the goods of
“ fortune from a delinquent Church; and if he does thus
“ prescribe to them, they *may* lawfully so take them away.
“ *Ergo,* from whence, in virtue of that principle, have
“ Christian princes put in practice that opinion. But God
“ forbid that from thence it should be believed that it was
“ my meaning that secular lords may lawfully take them
“ away when and howsoever they please, or by their bare
“ authority: but that they may only do it by the authority
“ of the Church in cases and form limited by law.

N. B. The next article in the Pope's schedule is here omitted, and No. VIII. follows, which is here numbered the CHAP.
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“ VII. *We know that it is not possible that the Vicar of Christ merely by his Bulls, or by them together with his own will and consent, and that of his College of Cardinals, can qualify or disable any man.* This is plain from the Catholic faith; since it behoves our Lord in every vicarious operation to maintain the primacy. Therefore, as in every qualifying of a subject, it is first required that the subject to be qualified be meet and worthy; so in every disqualification there is first required a deserving from some demerit of the person disqualified, and by consequence, such a qualifying or disqualifying is not made purely by the ministry of the Vicar of Christ, but from above, from elsewhere, or from some other.

“ VIII. *It is not possible that a man should be excommunicated to his damage, unless he be excommunicated first and principally by himself.* This is plain; since such an excommunication must be originally founded on the sin of the party damaged. From whence Augustin in his twenty-first sermon on the words of the Lord; *Do thou, says he, not misuse thyself, and man shall not get the better of thee.* And to this day the faith of the Church sings, *No adversity shall do us any hurt, if iniquity does not prevail.* Notwithstanding, all excommunication is to be dreaded on many accounts, even although the excommunication of the Church be, to the humble excommunicate, not damnable, but wholesome.

“ IX. ¹ *Nobody ought, except in the cause of God, to excommunicate, suspend, or interdict any one, or to proceed according to any ecclesiastical censure by way of revenge.* This appears from hence; that every just cause is the cause of God, to which chiefly respect ought to be had. Nay a love for the excommunicate ought to exceed a zeal or desire of revenge, and an affection for any temporal things; since otherwise, even he that excommuni-

¹ This conclusion is otherwise expressed in the Pope's schedule.

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“ cates injures himself. To this ninth conclusion we add,
 “ that it is agreeable to it, that a Prelate should excom-
 “ municate in human causes, but principally on this ac-
 “ count, because an injury is done to his God. 13. q. c.
 “ *inter querelas.*

“ X. *Cursing or excommunication does not bind finally,*
 “ *only so far as it is used against an adversary of the law*
 “ *of Christ.* This is plain, since it is God that binds *abso-*
 “ *lutely* every one that is bound, who cannot excommuni-
 “ cate, unless it be for a transgression of or prevaricating
 “ with his own law. To this tenth conclusion we add, that
 “ it is consonant to it, that the ecclesiastical censure be
 “ used against an adversary of a member of the Church,
 “ notwithstanding it does not bind *absolutely*, but *second-*
 “ *arily.*

* precipue. “ XI. *There is no power granted or exemplified by Christ*
 “ *to his disciples, to excommunicate a subject [* chiefly]*
 “ *for denying any temporalities, but on the contrary.* This
 “ is plain from the faith taught in Scripture, according to
 “ which we believe, that God is to be loved above all
 “ things, and our neighbour and enemy more than all the
 “ temporalities of this world necessarily; and because the
 “ law of God is not contradictory to itself.

“ XII. *The disciples of Christ have no power to exact by*
 “ *civil compulsion temporalities by censures;* as is plain
 “ from Scripture, Luke xxii. where Christ forbade his Apo-
 “ stles to reign civilly, or to exercise any temporal domin-
 “ ion. *The kings of the Gentiles, says he, exercise lordship*
 “ *over them, but ye shall not be so.* And in that sense it
 “ is expounded by St. Bernard, St. Chrysostom, and other
 “ saints. We add to this twelfth conclusion, that, notwith-
 “ standing, temporalities may be exacted by ecclesiastical
 “ censures *accessorie* in vindication of his God.

“ XIII. *It is not possible by the absolute power of God,*
 “ *that if the Pope or any other Christian shall pretend, that*
 “ *he binds or looses at any rate, therefore he doth actually*
 “ *bind or loose.* The opposite of this would destroy the
 “ whole Catholic faith; since it imports no less than blas-

“ phemy to suppose any one to usurp such an absolute
 “ power of the Lord’s. I add to this thirteenth conclusion,
 “ that I do not intend by that conclusion to derogate from
 “ the power of the Pope, or of any other Prelate of the
 “ Church, but do allow that they may, in virtue of the
 “ Head, bind and loose. But I understand the denied con-
 “ ditional as impossible in this sense; that it cannot be, that
 “ the Pope or any other Prelate does pretend that he binds
 “ or looses at any rate, [or just as he lists,] unless he does in
 “ fact so bind and loose, and then he cannot be peccable, or
 “ guilty of any fault.

“ XIV. *We ought to believe that then only does a Chris-
 “ tian priest bind or loose, when he simply obeys the law of
 “ Christ:* because it is not lawful for him to bind or loose
 “ but in virtue of that law, and by consequence, not unless
 “ it be in conformity to it.

“ XV.^m *This ought to be believed as Catholic, that every
 “ priest rightly ordained [according to the law of grace]
 “ hath a power according to which he may minister all the
 “ sacraments secundum speciem, and by consequence may
 “ absolve him who has confessed to him, and is contrite,
 “ from any sin.* This is plain from hence, that the priestly
 “ power is not more or less sufficient in its essence: not-
 “ withstanding, the powers of inferior priests are now rea-
 “ sonably restrained, and at other times, as in the last ar-
 “ ticle of necessity, are relaxed. I add to this fifteenth
 “ conclusion, that, according to the Doctors, every Prelate
 “ has a twofold power, viz. a power of order, and a power
 “ of jurisdiction or government; and that it is as to this
 “ last that they are Prelates, as being of a superior majesty
 “ and government.

“ XVI.^m *It is lawful for Kings, in cases limited by law,
 “ to take away the temporalities from churchmen who habi-
 “ tually abuse them.* This is plain from hence, that tempo-
 “ ral lords ought to depend more on spiritual alms which
 “ bring forth greater plenty of fruit, than on alms for the
 “ necessities of the body: that it may happen to be a work

^m These two conclusions are otherwise expressed in the Pope’s schedule.

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 “ themselves both in soul and body, by withholding from
 “ them the temporalties. The case the law puts is this ;
 “ When the spiritual Head or President fails in punishing
 “ them, or that the faith of the clerk is to be corrected, as
 “ appears xvi. q. 7. Filiis. 40. di.

“ XVII. ⁿ *If the Pope or temporal Lords, or any others,*
 “ *shall have endowed the Church with temporalties, it is*
 “ *lawful for them to take them away in certain cases, viz.*
 “ *when the doing so is by way of medicine to cure or pre-*
 “ *vent sins, and that notwithstanding excommunication or*
 “ *any other Church censure ; since these donations were*
 “ *not given but with a condition implied. This is plain*
 “ *from hence, that nothing ought to hinder a man from*
 “ *doing the principal works of charity necessarily ; and*
 “ *that in every human action the condition of the Divine*
 “ *good pleasure is necessary to be understood, as in the*
 “ *civil law, Collationes Decorandi, c. 5. in fine Collationis*
 “ *10. We add to this seventeenth article ; God forbid that*
 “ *by these words occasion should be given to the tem-*
 “ *poral lords to take away the goods of fortune to the de-*
 “ *triment of the Church.*

“ XVIII. ⁿ *An ecclesiastic, even the Pope of Rome him-*
 “ *self, may, on some accounts, be corrected by their sub-*
 “ *jects, and for the benefit of the Church be impleaded by*
 “ *both Clergy and Laity. This is plain from hence, that the*
 “ *Pope himself is capable of sinning, except the sin against*
 “ *the Holy Ghost, as is supposed, saving the sanctity, hu-*
 “ *mility, and reverence due to so worthy a Father. And*
 “ *since he is our peccable brother, or liable to sin as well*
 “ *as we, he is subject to the law of brotherly reproof. And*
 “ *when therefore it is plain, that the whole College of Cardi-*
 “ *nals is remiss in correcting him for the necessary welfare*
 “ *of the Church, it is evident that the rest of the body,*
 “ *which, as it may chance, may chiefly be made up of the*
 “ *laity, may medicinally reprove him and implead him, and*
 “ *reduce him to live a better life. This possible case is*

ⁿ These two conclusions are otherwise expressed in the Pope's schedule.

“ handled, Diss. 40. *Si Papa fuerit a fide devius.* For as
 “ so great a lapse ought not to be supposed in the Lord
 “ Pope without manifest evidence; so it ought not to be
 “ presumed possible, that when he does so fall, he should
 “ be guilty of so great obstinacy as not humbly to accept
 “ a cure from his superior with respect to God. Wherefore
 “ many chronicles attest the facts of that conclusion. God
 “ forbid that truth should be condemned by the Church of
 “ Christ, because it sounds ill in the ears of sinners and
 “ ignorant persons: because then the whole faith of the
 “ Scripture would be liable to be condemned.”

Besides this paper which the Doctor delivered to the
 Delegates, he presented another to the Parliament which
 met April 5th, the beginning of the next year, 1378. This
 himself calls, towards the end of it, A Sort of Answer to
 the Pope's Bull. It differs pretty much from that of which
 I have just now given an account, and therefore I have
 put a copy of it in the Collection. In it the Doctor seems
 to refer to the paper delivered by him before to the Dele-
 gates, whose second meeting I therefore suppose to have
 been before the sitting of the Parliament. The paper is to
 the following purpose in English. Coll. No. 40.

“ ° I protest publicly, as I have often done, that it is my
 “ desire and purpose to be a sincere Christian both in word
 “ and deed as long as I have any breath remaining. But if,
 “ through ignorance or any other cause, I shall be defective
 “ herein, I do now and henceforth revoke and detest it,
 “ humbly submitting myself to the correction of holy
 “ mother Church.”

“ I. *All mankind since Christ have not an absolute*
 “ *power of ordaining that Peter and all his successors*
 “ *should have political dominion over the world for ever.*
 “ That I grant from the faith of Scripture, since all civil
 “ government must cease before the final judgment, as the
 “ Apostle writes in his first letter to the Corinthians, speak- cap. xv.
 “ ing of the day of judgment, *Then cometh the end, when*

° This paper Dr. Wiclif, towards the end of it, calls, A Sort of Answer to the
 Bull, viz. to the Bull sent by the Pope to the University.

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“ *he shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Lord even*
 “ *the Father, when he shall have made void all principality*
 “ *and power.* He therefore who believes the resurrection
 “ of the flesh, believes that article, when there is no more
 “ any levying of money, or secular conversation. Nobody
 “ therefore has power to ordain any thing contrary to the
 “ Lord’s decree in this behalf.

“ II. *God cannot give to a man for himself and his*
 “ *heirs civil dominion for ever.* For I suppose that for
 “ ever be taken properly, and used in the common sense,
 “ as the Church uses that expression, when she prays
 “ that *glory may be to the Trinity now and for ever.* I
 “ suppose, secondly, that *civil dominion* be understood for-
 “ mally for that over which any one has a civil power or
 “ rule. And thirdly, that we speak of the *ordered or ruled*
 “ *power* of God: and then this conclusion follows from the
 “ former. But in speaking of the *absolute power* of God,
 “ it seems probable to many, that God cannot continue
 “ eternally the pilgrimage of his Spouse, because then he
 “ would defraud her of her reward, or would unjustly defer
 “ to punish the Devil’s body as it deserves.

“ III. *Charters of perpetual inheritance invented by men*
 “ *are impossible.* That conclusion was said, by the way,
 “ to a certain Doctor, who magnified human charters, and
 “ preferred them to the Scriptures. To which I said, it
 “ were better to attend to the defence and exposition of
 “ the Scripture, since many of this sort of charters are im-
 “ possible. I therefore grant the conclusion, since many
 “ charters do affirm of many that are disinherited and die
 “ without a will, that certain lordships are given to them
 “ for themselves and their heirs for ever. Which since it
 “ opposes the Divine ordinance, we ought not to canonize
 “ every charter to the contempt of the Scripture.

“ IV. *Whosoever is finally in a justified state, has not*
 “ *only a right to the thing, but, for his time, is in possession*
 “ *of it, or is over all the good things of God.* This is
 “ proved from a noted text of Scripture, Matth. xxiv.
 “ *He will set him over all his goods,* adding that of the

“Apostle to the Romans, *God spared not his own Son,* CHAP. IV.
 “*but delivered him up for us all; how shall he not with him* _____

“*give us all things?* The three first conclusions therefore c. viii.

“imprint on worldly men the faith of Christ, that they be
 “not drowned in the sea of a world which passes away
 “with the lust thereof: and the fourth draws men to love
 “the Lord, who has chosen us to so many true riches.

“V. *Man can only give by way of administration tem-
 “poral dominion, and eternal implied, whether to a natu-
 “ral child or a child of imitation.* It is proved by that of

“Luke vi. *Good measure, pressed down, and shaken toge-
 “ther, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.*

“And that man gives *only ministerially* is proved from
 “hence, that it is not lawful for a man to give any thing
 “but as a minister of God; according to that of the Apo-
 “stle, 1 Corinth. iv. *Let a man so account of us as of the*

“*ministers of Christ.* Whence Christ was a true minister

“of the Church, as the Apostle says, *Now I say that Jesus* Rom. xv.

“*Christ was a minister.* Let not his Vicar therefore be
 “ashamed to execute the ministry of the Church; since
 “he is, or ought to be, *the servant of the servants of God.*

“For a prohibition of reading the holy Scripture, and a
 “pride of secular dominion, with an itch after a secular
 “style, seems too much to savour of a disposition towards the

“blasphemous advancement of Antichrist: especially when

“the truths of the Scripture faith are esteemed *tares^p, con-^{* lollium.}

“trary to the Christian faith, by those captains who pre-

“sume that we must stand to their decree in every matter

“of faith, although they themselves are ignorant of the

“faith of the Scriptures. For so there might be recourse

“to the Court [of Rome] to purchase a condemnation of

“the holy Scriptures as heretical, and a dispensation con-

“trary to the articles of the Christian faith.

“VI. *If God is, temporal lords may lawfully and me-*

“*ritoriously take away the goods of fortune from a delin-*

^p Dr. Wiclif here plainly refers to the Pope's Bull to the University, to which this Paper is intended for an answer, in which the Pope complains of their suffering tares to spring among the pure wheat of their glorious field.

CHAP. "quent Church. For I suppose that we speak of what may
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"be, as the truest and highly authentic Scripture speaks,
"Matth. iii. *God is able of these stones to raise up children*
"unto Abraham. I therefore grant the conclusion as a
"corollary to the first article of the faith: for if God is,
"he is almighty; and if so, he is able to give to secular
"lords such a power; and by consequence, they may law-
"fully and meritoriously use such a power. But that the
"conclusion by its remoteness might not seem imperti-
"nent, I shewed that temporal lords have power to take
"away their alms bestowed on a Church when that Church
"abuses those alms; and that such a taking them away
"might, as it happens, be a spiritual work of mercy, a saving
"a soul from hell, and a happiness on both sides. But the
"collation of such an alms, besides or against the religion
"which Christ has instituted, relieves the body from tem-
"poral misery, as if it were a bodily alms; and, as it
"seems, as the giving of it may be an occasion of blessed-
"ness, so more likely may the taking it away be. Yet
"I said, that it is not lawful to do this but by the autho-
"rity of the Church in case of the defection of the spiritual
"president, and when an ecclesiastic shall need to be cor-
"rected, by those who are worthy of such a trust.

"VII. *We know that it is impossible for the Vicar of*
"Christ, purely by his Bulls, or by them with his own will
"and consent, or that of his College [of Cardinals] to qua-
"lify or disable any one. It is proved from Scripture, ac-
"cording to which the Church believes that every qualifi-
"cation of man does first of all proceed from the Lord;
"but no Vicar of Christ has a power in that matter, un-
"less it be vicariously in the name of the Lord, to notify
"to the Church whom God qualifies. If therefore he does
"any thing not vicariously in the name of the Lord, whom
"for the work's sake he recognizes or owns for his author,
"it is a Luciferian presumption, since in 2 Cor. iii. Christ
"says in his Apostle, *All your sufficiency is of the Lord.*

"VIII. *It is not possible that a man should be excom-*
"municated to his damage, except he be first and princi-

“ *pally excommunicated by himself.* It is proved hence,
 “ that every such excommunication savours of the worst-
 “ ing of the person excommunicated, or putting him in a
 “ worse condition than he was in before. But, according
 “ to Chrysostom and the holy Scripture, nobody can be
 “ made worse unless he be hurt by sin, which must have
 “ its origin from the sinner. For a deserved suspension of a
 “ man from the sacraments, and an entering into the Church,
 “ is not excommunication, unless it be understood equivo-
 “ cally. And as to the deserving it, that rather proceeds
 “ from the person excommunicated, than from the Vicar of
 “ Christ who excommunicates him; for no one is damni-
 “ fied if the Divine assistance be not withheld from him on
 “ account of sin, as it is proved, Isaiah lix. *Your iniquities*
 “ *have separated betwixt you and your Lord.*

“ IX. *Nobody ought, unless in the cause of God, to ex-*
 “ *communicate, suspend, interdict, or according to any cen-*
 “ *sure ecclesiastical to proceed in avenging himself.* It is
 “ proved from hence, that nobody ought to seek revenge but
 “ in a righteous cause. Every righteous cause is the cause
 “ of God, seeing he is the fountain of righteousness. There-
 “ fore I conclude; for since every such punishment has
 “ its original from sin, and every sin is against the Lord,
 “ according to that of Psalm l. *Against thee only have I*
 “ *sinned,* it is proved that nobody ought to proceed to
 “ such a punishment as excommunication &c. unless to re-
 “ venge the wrong done to God; for, according to Scrip-
 “ ture, nobody ought to take his revenge except on ac-
 “ count of an injury done to his Lord, by remitting any
 “ personal injury done to himself, as is proved from Christ’s
 “ precept, Matth. xviii. *If thy brother sin against thee, for-*
 “ *give him until seventy times seven.*

“ X. From these arguments is proved the tenth conclu-
 “ sion: that *cursing or excommunication does not bind*
 “ *simply, or in itself, but only inasmuch as it is denounced*
 “ *against an adversary of the law of Christ.* It is proved
 “ thus: for such cursing does not bind as to God, only so
 “ far as he that is bound offends against God’s law; but it

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Rom. xii.

“ does not bind, only so far as it binds with respect to God.
 “ Therefore I conclude ; for *if God justifies, who is he that*
 “ *shall condemn ?* But now God is not offended, unless it
 “ be for opposing his law. And those articles help to make
 “ the law of Christ more dear, seeing it ought to be the
 “ governing rule in every lawful process, and that the faith
 “ of the Scripture may make a better impression ; *Not*
 “ *avenging yourselves, dearly beloved, but give place unto*
 “ *wrath : for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will*
 “ *repay.*

“ XI. *There is no example of a power given by Christ*
 “ *to his disciples of excommunicating a subject principally,*
 “ *or specially, for his denial of temporal things, but the*
 “ *contrary.* It is proved hence ; that Christ teacheth, that
 “ the honour of God and the profit of the Church is to be
 “ preferred before a personal interest, or the denial of tem-
 “ poral things. And the second part is proved by that of
 “ Luke ix. where he forbade his disciples, who desired fire
 “ to come down from heaven, to excommunicate unbe-
 “ lievers who unjustly detained from Christ and his dis-
 “ ciples their goods. *Ye know not, says he, what spirit ye*
 “ *are of ; for the Son of man came not to destroy souls, but*
 “ *to save them.* From whence the catholic conclusion is,
 “ that it is not lawful for a Vicar of Christ to excommuni-
 “ cate his neighbour, unless on the account of love with
 “ which he is more affected than with all the temporalities
 “ of this world. And the negative conclusion is proved by
 “ induction, and by deducing it to an impossibility, *viz.*
 “ that then there would be in Christ yea and nay.

“ XII. *The disciples of Christ have no power by civil*
 “ *compulsion to exact the payment of temporal things by*
 “ *ecclesiastical censures.* It is proved of the Apostles and
 “ other disciples of Christ until the endowment of the
 “ Church, who, when the faithful were in so great want,
 “ did not exercise this power, but exhorted, according to
 “ the law of God, and a ministry devoted to such blessings
 “ which were owing to voluntary alms ; but after that the
 “ Church was endowed, such a palliated censure and secu-

“ lar exaction were confusedly mixed together: nay it is
 “ proved that a civil endowment was forbidden to Christ’s
 “ disciples. CHAP.
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—
Luke xxii.

“ XIII. *It is not possible of the absolute power of God,*
 “ *that if the Pope or any other Christian pretends, that*
 “ *he binds or looses any how, that by so doing he does so*
 “ *bind or loose. It is proved from hence; that every Chris-*
 “ *tian may in this widely err from the Church triumphant,*
 “ *and then he could not bind or loose as he pretends:*
 “ *therefore it cannot be that if he pretends that he binds*
 “ *or looses, he does so. From whence it seems to me that*
 “ *he who usurps to himself this power should be that Man*
 “ *of Sin of whom it is written in the second Epistle to the*
 “ *Thessalonians, chap. ii. that he sits in the temple of God,*
 “ *and shews himself as if he was God.*

“ XIV. *We ought to believe that a Vicar of Christ then*
 “ *only binds or looses simply or absolutely, when he does so*
 “ *conformably to the law of Christ. It is proved from*
 “ *hence; that all the power of a Vicar of Christ is then*
 “ *only in effect legitimate, when it is regulated and go-*
 “ *verned by the good pleasure of the Head of the Church.*

“ XV. *This ought to be catholicly believed, that any*
 “ *priest well and truly ordained hath a power, according*
 “ *to the law of grace, according to which he can minister*
 “ *the sacraments, and by consequence absolve a contrite*
 “ *person who has confessed to him from any sin whatso-*
 “ *ever. It is proved from hence; that the powers of Or-*
 “ *ders are equal in any Christian priests, as is declared by*
 “ *Hugo, c. 2. of the Sacraments. Yet some powers of Or-*
 “ *ders, equal to others in substance, are reasonably bound*
 “ *which may be loosed, as to the ministry, as is said in the*
 “ *conclusion.*

“ XVI. *It is lawful for kings, in cases limited by the*
 “ *law, to take away the temporalties from churchmen who*
 “ *habitually abuse them. It is proved from the reason given*
 “ *in the fourth conclusion; for to works more meritorious,*
 “ *and more easy to temporal lords, are lords themselves*
 “ *more obliged. But, as it may happen, it may be a*

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* for any
fault com-
mitted by
him.

“ greater alms, and a thing more easy, for a temporal lord
 “ to withdraw his alms from one who by the abuse of
 “ them edifies men for hell, than to give the said alms for a
 “ bodily subsistence. Therefore I conclude; whence that
 “ opinion is specified according to the threefold law. The
 “ first is the civil law concerning the causes of a corrad, *Collat.* 10th. *If a Clerk, says the law, as a Bishop or*
 “ *Abbat, having a benefice of the King’s gift, shall forfeit*
 “ *it * through his own fault, not only to the person but to*
 “ *the Church, it shall pertain to the King, so long as the*
 “ *Clerk is alive, and after his death it shall return to the*
 “ *successor.* The second law is the canonical, 16. q. 7. *Fi-*
 “ *liis*, where it is thus said; *Let it be lawful for the sons*
 “ *or grandsons, and the lawful near relations of him who*
 “ *built or endowed the church, to have this caution, that*
 “ *if they shall foresee, that any priest will deal fraudu-*
 “ *lently with the things collated on him, they may restrain*
 “ *him by an honest convention or agreement, or inform the*
 “ *Bishop or judge of the things to be corrected: but if*
 “ *the Bishop be negligent to inspect and set them right,*
 “ *let the matter be laid before the Metropolitan.* And
 “ thirdly, in case of their neglect, it ought, as the canon
 “ says, *to be intimated to the King’s ears.* Nor do I be-
 “ lieve it supposable, that they should inform the King of
 “ it for any other end than his applying himself to the
 “ correction of it. Nor is it to be doubted but the cor-
 “ rection, as being more befitting a king, as well as more
 “ wholesome on this occasion, would be a seizing of the
 “ goods, of which he is lord in chief, in proportion to the
 “ offence or fault. The third law is the evangelical, 2 Thess.
 “ iii. where the Apostle thus writes; *When we were with*
 “ *you, this we declared unto you, that if any would not*
 “ *work, neither should he eat.* It is therefore the law of
 “ nature, that they who have the lawful government of
 “ kingdoms should rectify the abuses of the temporalities,
 “ since such abuses do especially tend to the destruction
 “ of their kingdoms.

¶ Non solummodo persone sed Ecclesie.

“XVII. *Whether temporal lords or any others have en-*
dowed the Church with temporalties, it is lawful for
them, on occasion, to take away the temporalties medi-
cinally for the prevention or avoiding of sins, notwith-
standing excommunication or any other ecclesiastical
censure, since they were not given but on a condition im-
plied. It is proved from hence; that the condition by
 “itself consequent to the donation of the goods of the
 “Church is, that God may be honoured and the Church
 “edified. Which condition, if it be wanting, and the op-
 “posite to it be in its room, is a proof that the title of
 “the donation is lost, and by consequence, that the lord
 “who is the giver of the alms ought to rectify the error.
 “And excommunication ought not to hinder the doing
 “justice; because so the Clerk, by excommunication by
 “way of reparation, might get the whole world.

“XVIII. *An ecclesiastic or churchman, even the Pope*
of Rome, may lawfully be corrected for the benefit of the
Church, and be accused by the Clergy as well as by the
Laity: the first part is proved hence; that every such
 “churchman is our peccable brother, or our brother liable
 “to sin, and by consequence may be corrected by the law
 “of brotherly correction. Whence Matth. xviii. *If any*
one sin in any thing, the stander-by ought to correct him
when he has an opportunity. And by the same it ap-
 “pears that if there be an obstinate defence of heretical
 “pravity, or any other sin tending to the spiritual damage
 “of the Church, it ought on occasion to be complained of
 “to the superiors, to the end that by the correction of it
 “the danger of the Church may be prevented. For so
 “Peter was reprov'd by Paul, Gal. ii. and many irregular
 “Popes have been deposed by the Emperors, as Cestrensis
 “tells us in his Polycratica, lib. v. for the Church is
 “above that Pontiff. To say therefore that he ought not
 “to be corrected by man, but by the Lord, or that the
 “Pope is accountable to God only, let him sin how he will,
 “seems to me to imply that he is above the Church, the
 “Spouse of Christ, and like Antichrist, figured or repre-

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“sented as lifting himself up above Christ. For Christ, though he be without sin, would yet be subject to princes, even in the taking away his temporalities, as is proved Matth. xvii.”

“This,” the Doctor concludes, “is a sort of *Answer to the Bull* sent to the University. Those conclusions,” adds he, “I had delivered as a grain of faith separated from the chaff with which the unkindly tares are set on fire, which after the red blossom of stinking revenge provides fodder for Antichrist against the Scriptures of faith: an infallible sign of which is, that there reigns in the Clergy the Luciferian venom, pride, consisting in the lust of bearing rule, whose wife, covetousness of earthly things, breeds with it children of the Devil, the children of evangelical poverty being extinct. But a judgment of the fruitfulness of this issue may be made from hence, that many of even the children of poverty degenerating do by either their talking or silence take Lucifer’s part, not being able or not daring, because of the seed of the Man of Sin sown in their hearts, or out of a servile fear of losing their temporalities, to stand up for the evangelical poverty.”

It is intimated as if the reason of the Doctor’s drawing up this protestation was, because his conclusions had been reported and transmitted to the Court of Rome in different forms, and so in many things were not so well charged on him. But as he has here explained their true sense and meaning, he resolves to defend them even with his blood, that by this means he might reform the manners of the Church.

Exceptions have been made to several of these conclusions, by others besides professed Papists. Thus it is objected to the fourth conclusion, that “by it is required an *exact probity* to give a man a title to *property* and *power*.” But besides that Dr. Wiclif here follows that great Father of the Latin Church, St. Austin, in the manner of his expressing himself, he elsewhere says, “that a man may have temporal things by a twofold title, a

Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. i.

Dial. lib. iv. c. 17.

“title of *original righteousness*, and a title of *worldly righteousness*. By a title of *original righteousness*,” CHAP. IV.
saith he, “Christ had all the good things of the world, as
“Austin often declares, that by that title, or the title of
“grace,^r all things are the right of the godly, but that
“*civil possession* is widely different from that title.”

The sixth, sixteenth, and seventeenth conclusions are Dial. lib. iv.
represented as “shaking the patrimony of the Church, and c. 17.
“not so much as leaving one branch of her revenue un-
“questioned.” But it ought to be remembered, that the
Doctor confines this taking away the Church’s tempo-
ralties to *cases limited by the law*, and to the Clergy’s
being “notorious and habitual offenders, trespassing or
“failing openli or customabli in their ghostly office, as in
“them that ben openly fornicators, or lecherous, or simo-
“niacs, proud men, gluttons, or hardened in other open
“sins,” as he elsewhere expresses himself.

To the sixteenth conclusion it is particularly objected, Ibid.
that the Doctor has “overstrained the power of the
“Prince, and depressed the^s authority of the Church;” as Casaubon
if secular men were no part of holy Church, and eccle- de Libertat.
siastics were exempted from all subjection to the civil Ecclesiæ, p.
powers. 189.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth conclusions are
represented as “remarkably indulgent upon the subject of
“penance,” because the Doctor taught that *unlucky thing*,
as Baronius calls it, that “confession of sins is to be made
“to God alone, and that to him only it appertains to for-
“give sins.” Whereas, it seems, he ought to have said,
that Christ delegated to his Apostles and to their succes-
sors an authority of binding and loosing sins upon earth,
with a promise, that the proceedings in the court of heaven
should be directed and regulated by theirs upon earth:

^r Justorum sunt omnia.

^s — dicunt, Nos sic sentimus, et Ecclesia (id est nos ipsi) sic determinavit.
Adeo homines reprobi circa fidem et incredibiles, nobis sua phantasmata, *auto-
ritate Ecclesie*, pro articulis fidei audent proponere. *Luther de Captivitate Ba-
bylonica*.

CHAP. and that these *real powers and real gifts of the Holy*
IV. *Ghost* are given unto men by the laying on of hands when

Dr. Thomas they are ordained priests! Rants which become the mouth
Biss's Ser- of no sober minded Christian!

mons on the Common Prayer. The eighteenth conclusion is charged with "giving the

Collier, Ec- "flock an authority to pronounce judicially upon the pro-
cles. Hist. bity and conduct of their pastor:" as if evil ministers
vol. i. could ever be found guilty, and punished according to their

Articles of demerits, without being accused by those who have know-
Religion, ledge of their offences.
No. 26.

* mixtim
theologus.

About the same time Dr. Wiclif wrote an answer in Latin under a feigned name, to a certain Doctor, whom he calls **a medley Divine*, who had defended the Papal supremacy and infallibility, and maintained, that "if any one be Pope, he is then incapable of sinning, at least mortally, and by consequence, if he wills or ordains any thing, it is therefore just." From whence Dr. Wiclif observes, it follows, that "the Pope may take away any book from the canon of Scripture, and add any new one, and alter the whole Bible, and so make all the Scripture heresy, and establish as catholic a Scripture that is opposite to the faith." For opposing this extravagant opinion, Dr. Wiclif, or one of his friends, tells us, "he was complained of at Rome to the Pope, who dispersed his Bulls for the taking of him, and sent other Bulls for condemning him as an heretic, and others again to the Prince not to hinder the execution of these Bulls, but to assist the Prelates, that this professor of the Gospel may quickly be dispatched." He then mentions the seventh, tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth of the conclusions as they are numbered in his two Defences and Explanations of them; the "two last of which especially," he tells us, "being reported to the Court of Rome were condemned as heretical; viz. that *it is lawful for kings to take away the temporalties from ecclesiastical persons who habitually abuse them: and that an ecclesiastic, even the Pope of Rome, may lawfully be corrected, and even accused by their subjects and the laity.*" He proceeds to

vindicate the other four, and shews that it is blasphemous to assert that "neither the Pope nor any one else can err in pretending that they can on all occasions bind and loose, from whence it follows that they can as certainly bind and loose as God himself." From whence he infers, that "Christians ought not to suffer so noted a heretic and blasphemer to live upon the earth, and especially not to maintain such an one as their captain, since he will lead his company with their consent over a precipice: that secular lords ought to resist him, not only on account of the heresy he imposes on them with respect to the exercise of a power which they have to withdraw their alms from a delinquent Church; nor only because he condemns it as heretical to assert that *he can* only ministerially *distribute the goods of the Church*; but because he imposes an Egyptian bondage on them, and takes from them the liberty of the law of Christ." He proceeds to exhort the "soldiers of Christ, as well Seculars as Clergy, to stand for the law of God, even unto blood, and not to suffer themselves to be overpowered with the fear of pain, or the love of company and worldly profit." And shews, that "whether the judges or delegates, by the Pope's permission, proceed to condemn his conclusions; or the Lord Pope himself, by the instigation of *Surgius* * Sic MS. pro Sergius. or Julian the Apostate, or of his own motion accompanied with the ignorance of Scripture, or the instigation of the Devil; or an angel from heaven should promulge that blasphemous opinion, the faithful who hear the honour peculiar to their Lord unfaithfully usurped, are unanimously, for the saving the faith, to make opposition to it. For," says he, "if it were once established, that if the Pope or his Vicar pretends that if he on any occasion looses or binds, he does really loose or bind, how will the world stand? For then if the Pope pretends that he binds with the pain of eternal damnation whomsoever opposes him in his acquisition of temporal things, whether moveable or immoveable, or whatever he does, he is actually bound; and by consequence it would be the easiest

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“ thing imaginable for him to obtain all the kingdoms of
 “ the world, and destroy or subvert the whole ordination of
 “ Christ.” He therefore asks, “ Since for a lesser fault than
 “ such an usurpation of Divine power, Abiathar was deposed
 “ by Solomon, Peter reprov'd to the face by Paul, nay many
 “ Popes have been deposed by Emperors and Kings; what
 “ should hinder the faithful from complaining of a greater
 “ injury done to their God? For, according to that blas-
 “ phemous opinion, it would be easy for the Pope to turn
 “ the whole world upside down; seeing the Pope may
 “ with all his Clergy plunder the Laity of their wives,
 “ daughters, and all their goods, without any opposition.
 “ Because, as it is said, even kings may not take away
 “ any thing from the Clergy, nor is it lawful for a layman
 “ to find fault with a Clergyman, or to complain of any
 “ thing he does; but if the Pope decrees any thing, imme-
 “ diately his pleasure is to be obeyed.” He concludes with
 observing, that “ true is the reasoning of the most holy
 “ Pope Peter, 1 Pet. iv. *If any Christian minister, he*
 “ *ought to do it as of the ability which God giveth, that*
 “ *God in all things may be glorified*: who grants to his vi-
 “ cars the light of understanding the Scriptures, that they
 “ as meek and lowly sons born for their fathers, may ob-
 “ serve them in good manners, being zealous for the edifi-
 “ cation of the Church, by the observance of the law of
 “ Christ. In order to which it behoves men, according to
 “ the rule of holy Scripture, in the first place to lay aside
 “ an affection for earthly things, and to live retiredly,
 “ justly, and godly, in evangelical poverty.”

A. D. 1378. Pope Gregory XI. died March 27th, this year, which was
 a great advantage to Dr. Wiclif: for by his death an end
 was put to the commission of the Delegates, before whom

Hist. Angl. he appeared no more. Walsingham therefore tells us, that
 p. 205. the Pope's “ decease did not a little grieve the faithful, as
 “ on the other hand, the false in the faith, John Wiclif and
 “ his followers, were encouraged by it.” It seems therefore
 to be a mistake, if Dr. Wiclif did at all appear before the
 Delegates at Lambeth, to place his doing so, so late as

in June this year, almost three months after Pope Gregory's death.

However, to be revenged of the Duke of Lancaster for espousing Dr. Wiclif, and appearing at the court of Delegates in his behalf, a report was raised, it is said, that the day before the Delegates meeting it was proposed to the Parliament in the King's name by the Duke of Lancaster, who was Regent, that thenceforward there should not be any mayor of London, but only a captain; and, that the Marshal of England might arrest in the city such as offended, as well as in other places: which so enraged the citizens as that it had like to have cost the Duke and Earl Marshal their lives. But this Stow places in the reign of King Edward III. a little before his death.

On the Pope's decease the Cardinals could not agree in electing a successor. One party chose one Bartholomew Archbishop of Barri in Naples, who was elected April 8th this year, and took on him the name of Urban VI. The other party, which chiefly consisted of French Cardinals, and who desired a Frenchman to be Pope, chose one Robert a Cardinal, who took the name of Clement VII. This was still a further advantage to Dr. Wiclif, since it was some time the latter end of the next year before Urban was declared, and acknowledged by the kingdom to be true and lawful, or indubitate Pope. On this occasion, the schism that was made by this double election, or choice of two Popes, Dr. Wiclif wrote a tract *Of the Schism of the Roman Pontiffs*, and soon after published his book *Of the Truth of the Scripture*; in which he contended for the translating of the Scriptures into English, and affirmed that God's will is plainly revealed in two Testaments; that Christ's law sufficeth by itself to rule Christ's Church; that a Christian man well understanding it, may thence gather sufficient knowledge during his pilgrimage here upon earth; that whereas all truth is contained in holy Scripture, whatever disputation is not originally thence to be deduced, is to be accounted profane.

Cotton's
Abridg.
p. 180.
A. D. 1380.

Dr. James's
Apology for
John Wic-
lif, &c.

However, it seems as if the harassing and fatigue which

CHAP. Dr. Wiclif met with this year by attending the Pope's De-
 IV. legates, occasioned his having a dangerous fit of sickness,
 Bale, p. 469. that brought him almost to the point of death. This
 seems to have happened soon after his return to Oxford
 A. D. 1379. the beginning of next year. The Friars Mendicant hearing
 of it, they immediately instructed deputies to be sent to
 him in their behalf, *viz.* four solemn Doctors whom they
 called Regents, every Order his Doctor; and that the mes-
 sage might be the more pompous, they joined with them
 four senators of the city, whom they call Aldermen of the
 wards. They, when they came to him, found him lying in
 his bed, and first of all wished him health, and a recovery
 from his distemper. After some time, they took notice to
 him of the many and great injuries which he had done to
 them [the Begging Friars] by his sermons and writings,
 and exhorted him that now he was at the point of death,
 he would, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke in their
 presence whatever things he had said to their disparage-
 ment. But Dr. Wiclif immediately recovering strength
 called his servants to him, and ordered them to raise him
 a little on his pillows; which when they had done, he
 said with a loud voice, "I shall not die, but live, and de-
 "clare the evil deeds of the Friars." On which the Doc-
 tors, &c. departed from him in confusion, and Dr. Wiclif
 afterwards recovered.

But though Dr. Wiclif did now thus escape without any
 formal ^t sentence of condemnation being passed upon him;
 his adversaries were yet not wanting to take all possible
 advantages against him, as will be shewn in the following
 chapters.

^t Dominus Archiepiscopus sibi et omnibus aliis super illa materia, presente
 Domino Duce Lancastriæ, indixit silentium. *Murimuth.* p. 137.

CHAP. V.

Dr. Wiclif preaches and writes against the Pride and Tyranny of the Pope, and the Corruptions of the Romish Clergy. He and others undertake translating the Holy Scriptures into English, it having never been done before.

DR. WICLIF in his lectures, sermons, and writings, laid A. D. 1380. hold on all occasions to expose the Romish Court, and lay open the vices of the Clergy both Religious and Secular. This appears very plainly by those sermons of his on the *Commune Sanctorum*, and the particular festivals which are yet extant; and by his many other tracts, which seem to have been written by him about this time. This perhaps provoked the new Pope Urban formally to condemn the forementioned twenty-four erroneous conclusions, as they are called, with the holding which Dr. Wiclif and his disciples were charged.

MS. in C.C. College, Cambridge. K. 15. 4^o.

Murimuth. Contin. p. 152.

But what seems to have given as great a provocation as any thing, was his and others undertaking to translate the holy Scriptures into English. This, it seems, was what had never been done before, into the English spoken after the Conquest: or, however some parts of them might have been rendered into English for particular persons' private use, they had not yet been ^a *published* in this language.

This is plainly intimated by Henry de Knyghton, who thus declaims against Dr. Wiclif's translation of the Bible. "Christ," says he, "committed the Gospel to the Clergy, and Doctors of the Church, that they might minister it to the laity, and weaker persons, according to the exi-

De Event. Angliæ apud X. Scriptores, Coll. 2644.

^a Such a distinction of books *published* and *unpublished* was used before the invention of printing. The books *published* were such of which copies were taken and dispersed into a considerable number of hands: the books *unpublished* were such as were written only for the owners' own use, or to be set up in libraries.

CHAP.
V.

“gency of times, and persons’ wants: but this Master John Wiclif translated it out of Latin into English, and by that means laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the Clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding: and so the Gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine, and that which used to be precious to both Clergy and laity, is made as it were the common jest of both; and the jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the laity, and what was before the *chief talent* of the Clergy and Doctors of the Church, is made for ever *common* to the laity.” This is confirmed by what is reported of the Duke of Lancaster, that when, about ten years after, a bill was brought into the House of Lords to forbid the reading this translation of the Bible in English, the Duke stood up and said, “that the people of England would not be the dregs of all men, seeing all nations besides them had the law of God in their own tongue.” Had the holy Scriptures been published in English before, would the Duke have spoken thus?

Wicket.

Dr. Wiclif accordingly assures us, that the Clergy then said, “*It is heresy to speake of the holy Scripture in English, and so they woulde condempne the Holy Goste that gave it in tongues to the Apostles of Christe, as it is written, to speake the worde of God in all languages that were ordayned of God under heaven.*” * So Lord

* Husbandman’s Prayer and Complaint. MS.

Cobham complained; “*Thilk that have the key of conning have y lockt the truth of thy teaching under many wardes, and y hid it fro thy children.*” All this seems to make it pretty plain, that it is a mistake of Sir Thomas More, and some others since his time, to affirm, that before Dr. Wiclif’s time there were old translations of the Bible into the English spoken after the Conquest.

The author of the Prologue prefixed to a review of this translation, about 1396, sets himself to answer the objections made to the translating the Bible into English, by “*some that,*” as he expresses it, “*semen wise and holy.*” These are all against the Bible’s being translated into

English by any body. It was pretended that men should not now attempt to translate the Bible into English, because they were not holy, nor learned enough for such an undertaking: that the four great Doctors of the Latin Church durst never to do it. To which Dr. Wiclif replied, that “ though the first of these objections seemed colour-
“ able, it had no good ground, nor reason, nor charity: that
“ it was more agenst St. Jerome, and the first LXX trans-
“ lators, and holy Church, than agenst him and his friends
“ who had now translated the Bible into English; since St.
“ Jerome was not so holy as the Apostles and Evangelists,
“ whose bookes he translated into Latine; nor were the
“ LXX so holy as Moses and the Prophets: and holy
“ Church approved not only the true translation of meane
“ Christen men, stedfast in Christian faith; but also of
“ open heretics.” And therefore he concludes that “ much
“ more the Church of England should approve the true and
“ holy translation of simple men, that would for no good
“ in earth, by their witting and power, put away the least
“ truth, yea the least letter or tittle of holy Writ that
“ beareth substance or charge.”

As to the other objection, he styles it a very ignorant one, and not deserving an answer; for that these Doctors of the Latin Church were not Englishmen, nor did they live among Englishmen, nor understand the English language; but that they had the Bible in their mother tongue, or the language of their own people.

But all that Dr. Wiclif or any one else could say in justification of his translating the holy Scriptures into English, would not put a stop to the clamours which were raised against him on this occasion. His person was had in the utmost hatred and disesteem by the Clergy of that time on account of his reproving their ignorance, and departing from their calling; and they reckoned this his making the holy Scriptures common to the laity, was an invasion of their rights and powers; a making them useless, and taking from them their chief talent. They had nothing now to do, it seems, but to throw up their Orders,

CHAP. since the Church had no need of them. Against these and
V. such like reproaches Dr. Wiclif thus defended himself.

Speculum
secularium
Domino-
rum. MS.
apud Cl.
Usser.

“ Seeing,” saith he, “ the truth of the faith shines the more
“ by how much the more it is known, and the Lords
“ Bishops condemn the faithful or true opinion in the ears
“ of secular Lords, out of hatred of the person who main-
“ tains it; that the truth may be known more plainly and
“ diffusively, true men are under a necessity of declaring
“ the opinion which they hold not only in the Latin, but
“ in the vulgar tongue. It has been said in a former
“ Looking Glass for Secular Lords, written in the vulgar
“ tongue, that they ought wholly to regulate themselves
“ conformably to the law of Christ. Nor are those here-
“ tics to be heard who fancy, that *Seculars ought not to*
“ *know the law of God, but, that it is sufficient for them*
“ *to know what the Priests and Prelates tell them by word*
“ *of mouth:* for the Scripture is the faith of the Church,
“ and the more it is known in an orthodox sense, the bet-
“ ter. Therefore as secular men ought to know the faith,
“ so it is to be taught them in whatsoever language is best
“ known to them. Besides, since the truth of the faith is
“ clearer and more exact in the Scripture than the Priests
“ know how to express it; (seeing, if one may say so, there
“ are many Prelates who are too ignorant of the Scrip-
“ ture;) and others conceal points of Scripture, such, to
“ wit, as declare for the humility and poverty of the
“ Clergy; and that there are many such defects in the
“ verbal instructions of Priests: it seems useful that the
“ faithful should themselves search out or discover the
“ sense of the faith, by having the Scriptures in a language
“ which they know and understand. Besides, according to
“ the faith taught by the Apostle, Heb. xi. the saints by
“ faith overcame kingdoms, and chiefly by the motive of
“ faith hastened to their own country. Why therefore
“ ought not the fountain of faith to be made known to the
“ people by means by which a man may know it more
“ clearly? He therefore who hinders this, or murmurs
“ against it, does his endeavour that the people should

“ continue in a damnable and unbelieving state. The laws
 “ therefore which the Prelates make are not to be received
 “ as matters of faith; nor are we to believe their words or
 “ discourses, any further or otherwise than they are founded
 “ on the Scripture; since, according to the constant doc-
 “ trine of Augustine, *the Scripture is all the truth*: therefore Doctrina
Christiana,
lib.ii. in fine
Ep. ad Vo-
lusianum.
 “ this translation of the Scripture would do this good, that
 “ it would render Priests and Prelates unsuspected as to
 “ the words of it which they explain. Further, Prelates,
 “ as the Pope and Friars, and other means may be de-
 “ fective: accordingly Christ and his Apostles converted
 “ the most part of the world by the making known to them
 “ the Scripture in a language which was familiar to the
 “ people; for, for this purpose did the Holy Spirit give
 “ them the knowledge of all tongues. Why therefore
 “ ought not the modern disciples of Christ to collect frag-
 “ ments from the same loaf, and, as they did, clearly and
 “ plainly to open the Scriptures to the people, that they
 “ may know them? for this is no fiction, unless it be of
 “ one who is an unbeliever, and is desirous to resist the
 “ Holy Spirit. The faith of Christ is therefore to be ex-
 “ plained to the people in a twofold language, the know-
 “ ledge of which is given by the Holy Spirit. Besides,
 “ since, according to the faith which the Apostle teaches,
 “ all Christians *must stand before the judgment-seat of* 2 Cor. v.
 “ *Christ*, and be answerable to him for all the goods with
 “ which he has entrusted them; it is necessary that all
 “ the faithful should know these goods and the use of
 “ them, that their answer may then be open; for an an-
 “ swer by a prelate or attorney will not then avail, but
 “ every one must then answer in his own person. Since
 “ therefore God has given to both Clergy and laity the
 “ knowledge of the faith, to this end, that they may teach
 “ it the more plainly, and may faithfully work by it; it is
 “ plain that God, in the day of judgment, will require a
 “ true account of the use of these goods, how they have
 “ been faithfully put out to usury.” For he elsewhere tells
 us that “ false confessors seyn, that they wolen answe A Tract of
three MSS.

CHAP. "for men at domesday for to excuse them gif they wole
 V. "gif them * either their house to make gay windowes or
 * or. "veyn housing and nedles myche golde or silver." This
 silly pretence our poet Chaucer thus ridiculed as it de-
 served:

" ————— instede of wepinge and prayeres,

" Men might give silver to the pore Friers."

And yet as ridiculous as this pretence was, it took, at this time, we are told, with a great many people, who were glad of so easy a way of getting to heaven. "Many," says a writer of these times, "wenen if thei gyven a peni to a
 " pardoner, thei shal be assoiled of breaking all the com-
 " maundements of God, therfore thei taken none hede
 " hou thei kepen them."

Cl. Usser.
 de Scrip-
 turis et Sa-
 cris vern.
 p. 163.

c. 13.

Walden.
 Doc. Tri.
 tom. i. lib.
 ii. c. 21.

In this manner did Dr. Wiclif plead the right of the people to read the Scriptures, and defend his translation of them, that they might enjoy this right. And this was the more necessary at this time, when it seems to have been the prevailing opinion, that the Scripture was not to be read by every one at his pleasure in any language. Thus one William Butler, a Franciscan Friar, in a determination which he published, about twenty years after, against this translation of the Bible by Dr. Wiclif, asserts that "The
 " Prelates ought not to suffer, that every one at his plea-
 " sure should read the Scripture translated into Latin;
 " because, as is plain from experience, this has been many
 " ways the occasion of falling into heresies and errors. It
 " is not therefore politick," says he, "that any one, where-
 " soever and whensoever he will, should give himself to
 " the fervent study of the Scriptures." The author of the Prologue tells us, that in his time it was ordered in the University of Oxford, that Priests and Curates were not to read the Scriptures till they were nine or ten years standing there. Nay some writers had then the folly and madness, in opposition, I suppose, to Dr. Wiclif, to affirm, that "the decrees of Bishops in the Church are of greater
 " authority, weight, and dignity, than is the authority of
 " the Scriptures." For Dr. Wiclif affirmed, that "Chris-

“ *ten men and women, olde and young, shoulde study fast* CHAP.
 “ *in the New Testament, and that no simple man of wit* V.
 “ *shoulde be aferde unmesurably to study in the text of* Prologue, c.
 “ *holy Writ: That pride and covetisse of Clerks is cause* 1.
 “ *of their blyndnesse and heresie, and priveth them fro*
 “ *verie understanding of holy Writ: That the New Tes-*
 “ *tament is of ful autoritie, and open to understanding*
 “ *of simple men, as to the poynts that ben most nedeful to*
 “ *salvation: That the texte of holy Wryt ben wordes of*
 “ *everlasting life, and that he that kepeth mekenes and*
 “ *charitie hath the trewe understondynge and perfection of*
 “ *all holi Write: That it seemeth open heresy to sey that*
 “ *the Gospel with his truth and freedom suffiseth not to*
 “ *salvation of Christen men without kepyng of ceremonies*
 “ *and statutes of sinful men and unkunninge, that ben*
 “ *made in the tyme of Sathanas and of Antichriste: That*
 “ *men ought to desire only the truth and freedom of the*
 “ *holy Gospel, and to accept man’s lawe and ordinances*
 “ *only in as much as they ben grounded in holy Scripture,*
 “ *either good reason, and common profit of Christen people:*
 “ *That if any man in earth, either angel of heaven techith*
 “ *us the contrarie of holie Write, or any thing agenst*
 “ *reason and charity, we should fle from him in that as*
 “ *fro the foule fend of hell, and hold us stedfastly to, life*
 “ *and death, the truth and freedom of the holy Gospel of*
 “ *Jesus Christ, and take us mekely men’s seyings and*
 “ *lawis, only in as much as they accorden with holy Write*
 “ *and good consciences, and no further, for lyfe neither*
 “ *for death.”*

But whatever envy and opposition Dr. Wiclif gained by his thus translating the Bible, and defending the use of private judgment of discretion in matters of conscience and eternal salvation, in opposition to the infallibility of the Church; he met with as much very soon after for his attacking another favourite doctrine, viz. that of transubstantiation. But of this more in the next chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Dr. Wiclif opposes the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation. He is censured by the Chancellor of Oxford, and some of the Doctors of the University. Dr. Wiclif appeals from this sentence to the King, &c. Archbishop Sudbury being murdered by the Rebels is succeeded by Archbishop Courtney, who, in a Court held at the Preaching Friars, London, condemned several opinions held by Wiclif's followers, which condemnation he required the Chancellor of Oxford to publish. Dr. Wiclif is by virtue of the King's letters to the Chancellor expelled the University, and retires to Lutterworth.

NOTWITHSTANDING these clamours against Dr. Wiclif, he still went on in detecting the errors and abuses which had crept into the Church. It had been for near a thousand years after Christ the Catholic doctrine, and particularly of this Church of England, that, as one of our ^aSaxon Homilies expresses it, “ Much is betwixt the body Christ
 “ suffered in, and the body hallowed to *houzell——this
 “ latter being only his ghostly body gathered of many
 “ cornes, without blood and bone, without limb, without
 “ soule, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein
 “ bodily, but all is to be ghostly understood.” In opposi-
 tion to this it was asserted by Paschasius Radbertus, about
 the year 820, that “ although in the Sacrament there be
 “ the figure of bread and wine, yet we must believe that,
 “ after consecration, they are nothing else but the body
 “ and blood of Christ. And to say something more won-
 “ derful, they are plainly no other than the flesh which
 “ was born of Mary, suffered on the cross, and rose again
 “ from the grave.” He intimated further that “ whoso-

* The Sa-
crament.

De Corpore
et Sanguine
Domini, c. 1.

^a This Homily was published by Archbishop Parker, with the attestation of the Archbishop of York and thirteen Bishops, and imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martin's; without any date.

“ ever will not believe Christ’s natural body in the Sacra-
 “ ment under the form of bread, that man would not have
 “ believed Christ himself to have been God, if he had seen
 “ him hanging upon the cross in the form of a servant.”

It is confessed by the Papists, that this man was “ the first
 “ who wrote seriously and copiously on this subject, the
 “ truth or reality of the body and blood of the Lord in the

Bellarm.
de Script.
Eccles. p.
188.

“ Eucharist.” And the Friars, to support this absurd no-
 tion, invented a fancy altogether as nonsensical, viz. that

“ the accidents or forms of bread and wine do remain by
 “ God’s omnipotent power without a subject, after the
 “ words of consecration, as they did before in the substance
 “ of bread,—that these accidents of bread and wine may

F. Parsons’
Review of
Ten Public
Disputati-
ons. § 34.

“ remain, by the power of God, in the Sacrament, without
 “ their proper subject.” Of this Dr. Wiclif often com-
 plains in his writings against the Friars.

In the divinity lectures which he read this summer, he
 set himself to attack this error, and to maintain the true
 and ancient notion of the Lord’s Supper. For this end he
 maintained and published twelve conclusions, the first of
 which is, that “ the consecrated Host which we see upon

A. D. 1381.
Hist. et
Ant. Oxon.
p. 188. c. 2.
MS. in Hyp.
Bodl. 163.
Coll. No. 19.

“ the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of him, but an ef-
 “ fectual sign of him.” The fifth of these conclusions as-

serts, that “ transubstantiation, idemptification, impana-
 “ tion, which the Baptists of signs,” as he calls the patrons

of these odd notions, “ use in the matter of the Eucharist,
 “ have no foundation in Scripture.” In the eighth of them

it is affirmed, that “ the Sacrament of the Eucharist is in
 “ figure the body and blood of Christ, into which is transub-

“ stantiated the bread or wine whose * somethingness re- * aliquitas.

“ mains after consecration, although it be, as it is consider-
 “ ed by the faithful, laid asleep.” On these conclusions

Dr. Wiclif offered to dispute publicly in the schools with
 any one; but he was prohibited, it is said, by the Religious
 who were Doctors in divinity, and bore a great sway there.

The Doctor being thus not suffered to defend in the schools
 these conclusions of his, he published his opinion as fol-
 lows. “ *The Eucharist is the body of Christ in the form*

Of feyned
contempla-
tif Life. MS.

CHAP.
VI.

“ of bread. *The right faith of Christen men is this, that*
 “ *this worshipful sacrament is ^b bread and Christ’s body,*
 “ *as Jesu Christ is very God and very Man; and this*
 “ *faith is grounded in Christ’s own word in the Gospel of*
 “ *St. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and by St. Paul, and plain-*
 “ *ly in holy Writ, and by Austin, Jerome, Ambrose, and*
 “ *most holy saints, and most kunning in holy Writ, and*
 “ *thereto accordeth reson and witt at the full. In these*
 “ *Gospels is the form taught of Christ, that our Lord Jesu*
 “ *Christ at the supper took bread in his honds and blessed*
 “ *and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples and seyd, Eat*
 “ *ye all of this, This is my body. And so of the chalice,*
 “ *and commanded them to don this Sacrament in mind of*
 “ *him. And St. Paul, that had his Gospel not by man,*
 “ *but by revelation of Jesu Christ, seith thus in his first*
 “ *Epistle to the Corinthians, Is not the bread that we*
 “ *breken the communion of our Lord’s body? And certes*
 “ *he understondeth that it is so after the speech of holy*
 “ *Writ: therefore in the same Epistle to the Corinthians*
 “ *after the form of consecration, he clepeth three times this*
 “ *Sacrament bread. And the Gospel of St. Luke seith that*
 “ *Christ’s Disciples knowen him in the breaking of the*
 “ *bread, and this bread was the Sacrament of the auter, as*
 “ *St. Austin writeth. And in Actibus Apostolorum is seid*
 “ *thus; and Christen men weren dwelling in teching of*
 “ *Apostles, and in communing of breking of bread, sith St.*
 “ *Paul seith, the bread that we break is communing of*
 “ *Christ’s body. Ask these hereticks where this were sacred*
 “ *bread or unsacred, and they * moten say that it wos sa-*
 “ *cred, for else it were not communing of Christ’s body.*
 “ *Then moten these hereticks needs seye that this Sacra-*
 “ *ment is bread that we breken. And sith Christ may not*
 “ *lie, this bread is his body, as he seith in the Gospel. Al-*

* must.

* Et verus
panis, quia
est Corpus
Domini.

^b In one of the conclusions, said to be found in his book of the Sermon of the Lord on the Mount, No. 49. he thus expresses himself; “ Sicut Christus est similiter Deus et Homo, sic hostia consecrata est similiter Corpus Christi * ad minimum in figura, et verus panis in natura, vel quod idem sonat, est verus panis naturaliter et Corpus Christi figuraliter.”

“ so in the cannon of the mass after the consecration we
 “ clepen this Sacrament holy bread of everlasting life, and
 “ chalice of everlasting health. Also in the story of the
 “ feast of this Sacrament we clepen it thrice bread, and
 “ seyn bread of angels is made bread of man, and heaven-
 “ ly bread giveth end to figures of the old law. And in the
 “ same this is very bread of children. And in *—— of the * deest in
 “ feast we readen thus, God’s Son made very bread his^{MS.}
 “ flesh by vertue of his word, and wine his blood. And in
 “ the secret of the middle mass on Christmas-day we pray
 “ thus, That this substance of earth bring to us that thing
 “ that is ghostly, that is Christ’s body. Then this sub-
 “ stance shall not be turned to nought, but be sacred, and
 “ so dwell after the consecration. And St. Austin seith in
 “ a sermon that is written in the Pope’s law, that thing
 “ that is seen is bread, and that thing that eyes shewen or
 “ tellen is the chalice, but it is as much as the faith asketh
 “ to be lerned, the bread is Christ’s body, and the chalice,
 “ that is wine in the chalice, is Christ’s blood. Also Au-
 “ stin seith in a sermon that is written in the Pope’s law,
 “ Ye shullen not eat that body, ne drinke that blood, the
 “ which blood those men that shullen do me on the cross
 “ shulle shed out, for soth the same, and not the same; that
 “ same body and blood invisibly, and not the same visibly;
 “ nevertheless it is needful that it be understonden unvisi-
 “ bly. Also Jerome in an epistle that he made to Elbidi-
 “ an seith thus: Hear we that that bread that Christ brake
 “ and blessed, and gave to his Disciples to eat, is the body
 “ of our Saviour. And in the Pope’s law with great con-
 “ gregation of Bishops and Clerks, and great avisement, is
 “ written thus; I believe with heart and knowledge by
 “ mouth, that the bread and wine that ben put on the au-
 “ ter, ben after consecration, not only the Sacrament, but
 “ the flesh and blood of Jesu Christ in truth. Then sith
 “ these auctorities of Christ and his Apostles ben *algates * always
 “ soth, and also auctorities of these saints and clerks, sith^{truth.}
 “ they accorden with holy Writ and reason, seye we that
 “ this Sacrament is very bread, and also very Christ’s bo-

CHAP.
VI.

“*dy: and teche we this true belief to Christen men openly,*
 “*and let Lords meynntenen this truth as they are bounden*
 “*upon pain of damnation; sith it is openly taught in ho-*
 “*ly Writ, and by reason and witt. And damnen we this*
 “*cursed heresie of Antichrist and his hypocrites, and*
 “*worldly priests seying that this sacrament is neither*
 * subject. “*bread, ne Christ’s body, but accidents withouten * sujet,*
 “*and there under is Christ’s body. For this is not taught*
 “*in holy Writ, but is fully agenst St. Austin and holy*
 “*seints, and reason and wit; for Austin seith in many*
 “*books, that there may none accident be withouten sujet.*”

Lib. iv. c. 4. In his book called the *Dialogue* he expresses himself thus; “We do not at all believe that the Baptist, because
 “he was made Helias by virtue of the words of Christ,
 “Matt. xi. ceased to be John, or any thing that he *substan-*
 “*tially* was before: agreeably or consonant to this, it must
 “not be believed, that though the bread [in the Eucharist]
 “begin to be the body of Christ by virtue of his words, it
 “ceases to be bread, since hitherto it has been bread sub-
 “stantially, because it begins to be sacramentally the body
 “of Christ. For so Christ says, *This is my body.*——
 “The nature of bread is not thenceforth destroyed, but it
 “is exalted into a substance of greater dignity. This he
 “explains by this gross example, as he calls it; “it is not
 “true,” says he, “that a priest, when he is made a prince or
 “prelate of the Church, ceases to be the same person he
 “was before; on the contrary, he continues altogether the
 “same substance somewhat exalted.” And in another
 Ibid. lib. iv. c. 7. place, “The Scripture faith,” saith he, “asserts, that seven
 “ears and seven fat kine are seven years of plenty. And, as
 “Austin observes, the Scripture does not say that they *sig-*
 “*nify* those years, but that they *are* those years. And such
 “a form of speaking you may frequently find in Scripture.
 “——And all such speeches denote that the subject is or-
 “dained of God to figure the thing predicated according to
 “its fitness; and so it may be said that the sacramental
 “bread is after that manner specially the body of Christ.”
 But this explication he proposes with a great deal of mo-

desty, declaring that ^c he was ready to believe a *more subtil* one, if he was convinced of the truth of it by Scripture or reason.

This opposition of Dr. Wiclif's to the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, or the real presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament of the altar, as it was called, soon brought him into fresh troubles. This was to be expected from such severe judges as the Clergy of that time were; and who were particularly fond of this notion, as serving to exalt the mystical and hierurgical powers of the priesthood, and to make them thought something more than men. The Chancellor of the University, William de Barton, on Dr. Wiclif's publishing these conclusions, called together therefore several Doctors, by whose consent he passed a solemn decree, in which, after reciting Dr. Wiclif's conclusions; " I. That in the Sacrament of the altar the substance of material bread and wine do remain the same after consecration that they were before : II. That in that venerable Sacrament the body and blood of Christ are not *essentially* nor *substantially*, nor even *bodily*, but *figuratively* or *tropically*: so that Christ is not there truly or verily in his own proper bodily person. He declares that they are errors, and repugnant to the determinations of the Church; and that the true faith is, That by the sacramental words duly pronounced by the priest, the bread and wine upon the altar are transubstantiated, or substantially converted into the very body and blood of Christ; so that after consecration there do not remain in that venerable Sacrament, the material bread and wine which were there before, according to their own substances or natures, but only the species of the same, under which species the very body of Christ and his blood are really contained, not only figuratively or tropically, but essentially, substantially and corporally; so that Christ is there verily in his own proper bodily presence: and admonishes and very strictly inhibits that no one for

Leland de
Script. Brit.
p. 379.

Coll. No. 20.

^c Paratus sum tamen si ex fide, vel ex ratione doctus fuero sensum subtiliorem credere. *Dialog.* lib. iv. c. 7.

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VI.

“ the future, of any degree, state, or condition, do publicly
“ maintain, teach, or defend the two aforesaid erroneous as-
“ sertions, or either of them, in the schools, or out of them,
“ in that University, on pain of imprisonment, and suspen-
“ sion from all scholastic exercises, and also on pain of the
“ greater excommunication: and that no one for the future
“ do any way hear or hearken unto any one who shall
“ publicly teach, maintain or defend the two aforesaid er-
“ roneous assertions, on pain of the greater excommunica-
“ tion, and other penalties noted above.”

This decree was made in the presence of twelve Doctors, who are said unanimously to have consented to it, of whom eight were of the Religious. However, the aforesaid condemnation was, we are told by an anonymous writer, publicly promulged in the schools of the Austins, whilst Dr. Wiclif was there himself sitting in the chair, and determining the contrary; who, when he heard this condemnation, was, as it is said, put into some confusion; but recovering himself, he told the Chancellor, that neither he nor any of his assistants were able to confute his opinion: and afterwards he appealed from this condemnation of the Chancellor to the King.

Wiclif's
Wicket, p.
6.

To support this nonsensical notion, of *man's making his Maker, or making of bread the body of the Lorde, flesche and blood of Jesu Christ God and Man*, it was pretended, that Christ himself did so at his supper on Sere-Thursday, at which time, it was said, he took bread and blessed it, thereby conveying to it the mystic virtue and secret power of becoming his body, or true and real flesh and blood. But to this Dr. Wiclif made the following reply: “ *Understand ye,*” says he, “ *the wordes of our Saviour Christ as he spake them one after another; for he toke bread and blessed. And yet what blessed he? The Scripture sayeth not, that Christ toke bread and blessed it; or that he blessed the bread which he had taken; therfore it semeth more, that he blessed his Disciples, and Apostles whome he had ordayned witnesses of his passion, and in them he lefte hys blessed worde which is the breade of lyfe.*” By which Dr.

Idem.

Wiclif seems to have meant, that Christ's blessing terminated, not on the bread, but the Disciples, who by faith verily and indeed received Christ's body and blood. CHAP.
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About this time Archbishop Sudbury being beheaded by the rebels, William Courtney, Bishop of London, was translated to the see of Canterbury by the Pope's Bull, and had the temporalties delivered to him. But being a Prelate that was very tender of doing any thing contrary to his duty and obedience to his spiritual father and patron the Pope, he scrupled so much as to have his cross carried before him, or to do any thing almost that belonged to his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, before he had received his pall from Rome, which was not till May the next year. The Archbishop had before shewn himself a violent opposer of Dr. Wiclif, and therefore no sooner had he received the pall, but he immediately set himself upon proceeding against him and his followers. June 14,
1381.
Sept. 27.
Archbishop
Wake's
State of the
Church, p.
313.
May 6,
1382.

A Parliament being holden at Westminster this year, the Wednesday next after John Port Latin, or May 7th; Dr. Wiclif, in prosecution of his appeal from the Chancellor of Oxford's decree against him, presented his complaint to the King and them as follows. A.D. 1382.
Cotton's A-
bridg. p.
193.

"Please it to our most noble and most worthy King Richard, King both of England and France, and to the noble Duke of Lancaster, and to other great men of the rewme both to Seculars and men of holy Church that ben gedred in the Parliament to there assent and meyntene the few articles or points that ben sett within this writing, and proved both by auctority and reson; that Christen faith and Christen religion ben encreased, meynented, and made stable. Sith our Lord Jesu Christ very God and very man is Head and Prelate of this religion, and shed his precious heart blood and water out of his side on the cross to make this religion perfit and stable, and clene without error." MS. C. C. C.

"First, That all persons of what kynne, private sects or singular religion made of sinful men may freely, without any letting or bodily pain leave that private rule or new



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*“ religion founden of sinful men, and stably hold the rule
“ of Jesu Christ taken and given by Christ to his Apostles,
“ as far more perfect than any such new religion founden
“ of sinful men.——*

*“ Secondly, That those men that unreasonably and wrong-
“ fully have damned all this counsell be amended of so
“ great error, and that their error may be published to
“ men dwelling in the rewme.——*

*“ Thirdly, That both tithes and offrings ben given and
“ paid, and received by that intent, to which intent or end
“ both God’s law and the Pope’s law ordained them to be
“ paid and received; and that they be take away by the
“ same intent and reson that both God’s law and the
“ Pope’s law ordainen that they should be withdraw-
“ en.——*

*“ Fourthly, That Christ’s teching and belief of the Sa-
“ crament of his own body that is plainly taught by Christ
“ and his Apostles in Gospels and Epistles may be taught
“ openly in churches to Christen people; and the contra-
“ rie teching and false belief brought up by cursed hypo-
“ crites and hereticks and worldly priests unkunning in
“ God’s law*.——*

* Sic MS.

Hist. An-
gliaë, &c.

Walsingham represents Wiclif’s schedule addressed by him to the Parliament at this time, as containing the following propositions.

*“ 1. That neither the King or kingdom ought to obey
“ any See or Prelate, any farther than that obedience is
“ grounded on the Scripture: because otherwise Antichrist
“ may be preferred to Christ in obedience.*

*“ 2. That the money of the kingdom ought not to be
“ sent out of it, either to the Court of Rome or Avignon or
“ any other Court, unless it can be proved from Scripture
“ that it is their due.*

*“ 3. That no Cardinal nor any one else should have the
“ fruits of any church or prebend in England, unless he be
“ lawfully resident, or duly occupied in any cause of the
“ kingdom reasonably approved by the peers.*

“ 4. That the King and kingdom are bound to destroy

“ all traitors to the kingdom, and to defend their subjects
“ from their enemies. CHAP.
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“ 5. That when any Bishop or Curate beneficed in Eng-
“ land is notoriously guilty of a contempt of God, it is not
“ only lawful for the King to confiscate his temporalties,
“ but he is obliged so to do.

“ 6. That the King ought not to enslave any Bishop or
“ Curate to a secular ministry.

“ 7. That the King should not imprison any one on ac-
“ count of any delay in excommunication, before that delay
“ be shewn by the law of God to be unlawful.”

However this be, this is reflected on by Walsingham as Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Angliæ, p.
283. done with a design to^d entice and draw into error the lords
and great men. But it seems this was no way acceptable
to the Duke of Lancaster; who, however he thought fit to
countenance Dr. Wiclif in his asserting the *Regale*, and op-
posing the Papal tyranny and usurpation, did not like his
disputing against the received notion at that time of the real
presence, or change of the bread and wine into Christ's
very body and blood. It is said therefore that the Duke, MS. in Hy-
peroo Bodl.
163. who is styled by the writer of this account, the faithful
servant of holy Church, on receiving this petition went to
Oxford, and forbade Dr. Wiclif to speak of that matter for
the future. But that he as little obeyed him as he had
done his Ordinary, and began to make a confession, in
which was contained all his old error, but more privily un-
der a various covering of words, in which he spoke his
conceit, and seemed to prove his opinion: but that as an
obstinate heretic he refuted all the Doctors of the second
millenary in the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, and
said that they had all erred, except Berengarius, whose
opinion is condemned *de Consecrat. distin. 2. Ego Beren-
garius*, and himself and his accomplices; and said openly
that Satan was loosed and had power over the master of
the sentences, and all who preached the Catholic faith.
Others tell us that the Duke of Lancaster having forbidden

Antiq. Ox-
on. p. 189.
c. 1.
^d Scribit ad Dominos et Magnates———machinaciones novas, quibus et il-
los allicere posset et in errorem trahere. *Walsingham.*

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Dr. Wiclif to appeal to the King, and advised him to submit himself rather to the judgment of his Ordinary; Wiclif being encompassed with dangers, and not knowing how to extricate himself, was forced to retract his doctrine, which he did at Oxford on a day appointed in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, London, Sarum, and Hereford, together with the Chancellor of the University, and very many Doctors, surrounded with a great concourse of people. The confession was read by him in Latin. In it he at large explains his meaning, how he understood the body of Christ to be in the Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Altar, viz. that *this venerable Sacrament is naturally bread and wine, but is sacramentally the body and blood of Christ*. He shews, that there is a threefold *modus* or manner of the being of the body of Christ in the consecrated host, viz. a *virtual, spiritual, and sacramental*: that the third of these is the mode of being by which the body of Christ is singularly in the consecrated host: that the mode of being, by or in which the body of Christ is in the host is *very* and *real*, and that Christ is in that Sacrament in a more especial manner than in the others: that besides these three modes of being there are three others more true and real, which the body of Christ has appropriated to itself in heaven, viz. the mode of being *substantially, corporally, and dimensionally*; and that your gross thinkers do not apprehend any other mode of being of a natural substance besides these, and are therefore very unfit to comprehend the secrets of the Eucharist and the subtilty of Scripture: that if they believed the virtue or power of the words of Christ, they might know how that bread is miraculously, verily, really, spiritually, virtually and sacramentally the body of Christ, without its being so *corporally* and *substantially*. He therefore observed that in three things he and his followers differed from the Friars. 1. That he and they affirmed, that the venerable Sacrament of the Altar is naturally bread and wine, but sacramentally the

* This confession was not drawn up till after the sitting of the Court at the Preaching Friars, 1382.

body and blood of Christ. 2. That they adored this Sacrament, not as the substance of bread and wine, but as the body and blood of Christ. 3. He observed, that he had detected the equivocations and fallacies of the adversaries, and shewed, that the Fathers say some things of the Sacrament as bread, and some things of it as it is not *identically* but *sacramentally* the body of Christ. He concludes with the testimonies of Ignatius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Austin, Jerome, the decree of Pope Nicholas, and the usage of the Church in behalf of his opinion; and observes, that the consequence of that mad fiction, that the Eucharist is an accident without a subject, is the blaspheming God, scandalizing the saints, and mocking the Church with the lies of an accident. But this ^f confession being large, I have put it in the Collection. Coll. iv.
No. 16.

Knighton seems to give us another account of this matter. He tells us, that Dr. Wiclif was cited and called by the Pope's mandate to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury and many other Doctors of the Church, in the church of the Preaching Friars at London, to answer to the accusation of heretical pravity which was brought against him: and that on the day of his appearance, when it was expected he should have answered to those things which were objected to him, he immediately laid aside all that boldness which he before so much boasted of, and endeavoured to unsay his fantastical errors, and to deny that the opinions and conclusions wherewith he was charged were his, or ever were so; and protested, that they were invented by others, and taught and preached in his name, and ascribed to him; and that for a refuge, to avoid suffering death, he made the following confession. X. Scriptores, col. 2647.

"I knowleche that the Sacrament of the Auter is very Coll. No. 24.
"Goddus boddy in fourme of brede," &c.

Dr. Wiclif's denying, that some of the conclusions with

^f This confession was then wrote against by Dr. William de Berton, John Tyssington a Friar Minorite, Thomas Winterton an Austin Friar, John Wellys a Monk of Ramsay, Ughtred Bolton a Monk of Dunholme, and Simon Southry a Monk of St. Alban's.

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Osiander.
Epit. Hist.
Eccles.
Cent. 7.
p. 340.
X. Script.
col. 2649.

which he was charged were his, was certainly no more than doing himself justice. For instance, the seventh conclusion, that *God ought to obey the Devil*, was without doubt a very gross calumny, of which Wiclif never so much as dreamed or thought even in a high fever.

Knighton proceeds to inform us, that the Archbishop with his Council, having considered Dr. Wiclif's case, would not, at that time, plenarily proceed in the cause, till he had more fully deliberated with the Council of his suffragan Bishops, and therefore assigned to the said Dr. Wiclif another day to appear before him at Oxford, that with the Council of the University he might proceed more clearly, and come to a conclusion in the premises. On the day appointed therefore were assembled at Oxford the Archbishop with the Bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, London, Sarum, Hereford, the Chancellor of the University, many Doctors, and a great many others of the Clergy and people. Dr. Wiclif was likewise present to answer for the heretical pravity with which he was charged; who, renouncing it all, protested he never held those opinions he was accused of maintaining, nor would ever hold them, and made the following recantation, as Knighton calls this confession of his, concerning the holy Eucharist. This, it seems, was made by him in English, and is as follows.

Knighton
de Event.
Angl. apud
X. Scripto-
res, coll.
2649, 2650.

*"We beleve as Crist and his Apostolus han taugt us,
"that the Sacrament of the Auter white and ronde, and lyk
"tyl oure brede or ost unsacrede is verray Goddus body in
"fourme of brede, and if it be broken in thre parties as the
"Kirke uses, or elles in a thousand, everylk one of these
"parties is the same Goddus body, and ryth so as the per-
"sone of Crist is veray God and verray man, verray God-
"hede, and verray manhede ryth so as holy Kirke many
"hundrith wynter has trowyde, the same Sacrament is ver-
"ray Goddus body and verray brede: as it is forme of
"Goddus body and forme of brede as techith Crist and his
"Apostolus. And therefore Seynt Poule nemeth it never
"but when he callus it brede, and he be our beleve tok his
"wit of God in this: and the argument of heretykus agayne*

“ *this sentens, * lyth to a Cristene man to assolve. [And*
 “ *right as it is heresie to belive that Crist is a spirit and*
 “ *no body:] so it is heresie for to trowe that this Sacrament* * easy.
 “ *is Goddus body and no brede: for it is both togedur.*
 “ *But the most heresie that God sufferyde come tyl his*
 “ *Kyrke is to trowe that this Sacrament is an accident*
 “ *withouten a substance, and may on no wyse be Goddus*
 “ *body: for Crist sayde bewitnesse of John that this brede*
 “ *is my body. And if the say that be this skylle that holy*
 “ *Kyrke hat bene in heresy many hundred wynter, sothe it*
 “ *is, specially sythen the fende was lousede that was bewit-*
 “ *nesse of angele to John Evangeliste after a thousande*
 “ *wynter that Crist was stenenye to heven. But it is to*
 “ *suppose that many seyntes that dyede in the mene tyme*
 “ *before her death were purede of this erroure. Owe howe*
 “ *grete diversitie is betwene us that trowes that this Sacra-*
 “ *ment is verray brede in his kynde, and between heretykus*
 “ *that tell us that this is an accident withouten a sujet.*
 “ *For before that the fende fader of lesyngus was lowside,*
 “ *was never this gabbyng contryvede. And howe grete di-*
 “ *versitie is between us that trowes that this Sacrament that*
 “ *in his kinde is veray brede and sacramentally Goddus*
 “ *body, and betwene heretykes that trowes and telles that*
 “ *this Sacrament may on none wyse be Goddus body. For*
 “ *I dare surly say that yf this were soth Cryst and his*
 “ *seynts dyede heretykus, and the more partye of holye*
 “ *Kirke belevyth nowe heresye, and before devout men sup-*
 “ *posen that this counsaile of Freres in London, was*
 “ *with the herydene. For they put an heresie upon Crist*
 “ *and seynts in hevyn, wherefore the erth tremblide. & Fay*
 “ *land maynnus voice answeyde for God als it did in*
 “ *tyme of his passione, whan he was dampnyde to bodely*
 “ *deth. Crist and his modur that in gronde had destroyde*
 “ *all heresies kep his Kyrke in right belefe of this Sacra-*
 “ *ment, and move the King and his rewme to aske sharply*

& Ipse Wycliff in 4. libro Trialogi sui ter dampnati capitulo 36. prædictum concilium contra eum celebratum A. D. 1380. Londoniis vocat Concilium Terræmotus. Gascoigne Dict. Theo. MS.

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*“ of his Clerkus this offis that all his possessioneres on pain
 “ of lesyng all her temporaltes telle the King and his
 “ rewme with sufficient grownding what is this Sacrament;
 “ and all the Orders of Freres on payne of lesing her legi-
 “ ans telle the King and his rewme with gode grounding
 “ what is the Sacrament: for I am certaine of the thridde
 “ part of Clergie that defendus thise doutes that is here
 “ said, that they will defende it on paine of her lyfe.”*

One would wonder that ever this paper should, by any that had seen and read it, be reckoned a retractation of Dr. Wiclif's: since he so openly maintains in it his opinion of the Sacrament, declares his resolution to defend it with his blood, and censures the contrary as heresy. But it seems, it was not so understood by Dr. Wiclif's judges; for very soon after, as we shall see presently, Dr. Wiclif was, by the King's authority, expelled the University.

By the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament, though Knighton says by the Peers and Commons of the realm, in this session of the Parliament, the King was petitioned to provide a remedy against those innumerable errors and wicked opinions, which, they said, were broached and maintained by the Lollards. These were as follows.

*“ 1. That the present Pope Urban VI. is not the succes-
 “ sor of St. Peter on earth, but is the son of Antichrist,
 “ and that there has not been a true Pope since the time of
 “ St. Silvester.*

*“ 2. That the Pope cannot grant indulgences, nor any
 “ Bishops, and that all who place any confidence in such
 “ indulgences are cursed.*

*“ 3. That the Pope cannot make canons decretal or con-
 “ stitutions, and that no one is obliged to observe them, if
 “ they do make any.*

*“ 4. That every sin is blotted out by the contrition of the
 “ heart alone without any oral confession to a priest, and
 “ that such confession is no wise requisite, even where
 “ there is a plenty of priests.*

*“ 5. That images of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin,
 “ and of other saints, are by no means to be worshipped;*

“ nay, that they sin and commit idolatry who do even
“ worship their pictures: and that God does not do any
“ miracles by them; and that all who go on pilgrimage to
“ them, or do any way adore them, exhibiting lights or
“ other devotions before them, are accursed.

“ 6. That the Holy Trinity is in no wise to be figured,
“ formed, nor painted in the form in which it is painted
“ throughout the whole Church.

“ 7. That the excommunication of a Pope or Bishop does
“ not hold nor bind where God does not bind.

“ 8. That we are not to supplicate the saints to pray for
“ the living.

“ 9. That no Rector or Vicar or any Prelate is excused
“ from making their personal residence on their benefices,
“ by continuing in the service of Bishops, an Archbishop, or
“ the Pope.

“ 10. That it is not lawful for a presbyter to hire out his
“ work.

“ 11. That Priests and Deacons, whosoever they are,
“ are obliged and ought to preach publicly to the people on
“ account of the Orders they have taken, although they
“ have not a people nor a cure of souls.

“ 12. That Rectors and Vicars who do not celebrate nor
“ minister the Sacraments of the Church are to be remov-
“ ed, and others to be instituted in their room, because
“ they are unworthy and wasters of the Church's goods.

“ 13. That ecclesiastical men ought not to ride on such
“ great horses, nor use so large jewels, precious garments,
“ or delicate entertainments, but to renounce them all, and
“ give them to the poor, walking on foot, and taking staves
“ in their hands to take on them the appearance of poor
“ men, giving others examples by their conversation.”

These opinions the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors repre-
sented to the King as very pernicious both to the Church
and State, and bringing both into the utmost danger. The
King therefore commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury
and all the Bishops of the realm, that they should every one
of them more sharply and fervently exercise their offices in

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their dioceses according to the laws canonical, and more fully examine their English books, root out their errors, and study to reduce the people to the unity of the orthodox faith. His Majesty likewise ordered, that immediately and without any delay his letters patent should with all speed be dispatched into all the counties of the kingdom, and appointed in every county certain inquisitors concerning the books above mentioned and their fautors, requiring them speedily to apply a remedy, and to commit the rebels to the next gaol till further orders from the King. But Knighton observes, that the execution of these severe orders was slow, and as it were null, because the time of correction was not yet come. He should have added, that the Commons disavowed their giving their assent to the pretended act by virtue of which these orders were given, as will be seen hereafter. The King's letter to the Archbishop recites, that he was besought by the Archbishop thus to interpose his sovereign ecclesiastical authority, and in pursuance of his being *Defender of the Faith*. For the new Archbishop having now received his pall from Rome, which

A. D. 1382. was delivered to him at Croydon, May 6th this year, he immediately applied himself to proceed against Dr. Wiclif and his followers. He therefore called together some of his venerable brethren, or appointed a court of certain select Bishops, of Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and of the Canon and Civil Laws, to meet the 17th of this month in the monastery of the Preaching Friars, London. The court being met, as it was going to enter on business, there happened a great and terrible^h earthquake. Whereupon divers of the members were very much frightened, and were for adjourning the court till some other time. But the Archbishop being, as he is styled, "a firm pillar of the Church, a valiant man, and zealous for the Church of God, comforted them by putting them in mind, that in the cause of the Church they should not be slothful, and

Spelman, vol. 2.
Archbishop Wake's State of the Church, p. 313.
MS. in Hyperoo Bodl. 163.

^h The Godstow Chronicle tells us, that this earthquake was on the Wednesday before Whitsunday, or May 30, about one of the clock in the afternoon. Knighton, xii. *Kalend. Junii, or May 19.*

“ that the earthquake did indeed portend a purging the
 “ kingdom from heresies: for as there are included in the
 “ bowels of the earth air and noxious spirits, and they are
 “ expelled in an earthquake, and so the earth is cleansed,
 “ but not without great violence: so there were many he-
 “ resies shut up in the hearts of reprobate men, but by the
 “ condemnation of them the kingdom has been cleared, but
 “ not without irksomeness and great commotion.”

The process of what was here done tells us, that on the first day of their meeting they had some conclusions read to them, and that by their common consent they declared some of them to be heretical, and others of them to be erroneous. These are as follows.

Heretical conclusions, and repugnant to the determination of the Church.

“ 1. That the substance of material bread and wine remains after consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar.

“ 2. *Item*, That the accidents do not remain without a subject after consecration in the same Sacrament.

“ 3. *Item*, That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar identically, verily, and really, in his proper corporal presence.

“ 4. *Item*, That if a Bishop or Priest be in mortal sin, he does not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize.

“ 5. *Item*, That if a man be duly contrite, all exterior confession is useless and superfluous to him.

“ 6. *Item*, Pertinaciously to assert that there is no foundation in the Gospel for Christ's ordaining the mass.

“ 7. *Item*, That ⁱ God ought to obey the Devil.

“ 8. *Item*, That if the Pope be a reprobate, and a wicked man, and by consequence a member of the Devil, he has no power over Christ's faithful ones, granted to him by any one, unless perchance by Cæsar.

“ 9. *Item*, That after Urban the Sixth no one is to be re-

ⁱ The holding the same mad and nonsensical opinion is by Cochleus laid to the charge of Luther. He tells us, that anno 1528 that Doctor wrote *De Obedientia Diabolo debita a Deo*.

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“ceived for Pope, but that we are to live after the manner
“of the Greeks, under our own laws.

“10. *Item*, To assert that it is contrary to the holy
“Scriptures, that ecclesiastical men should have temporal
“possessions.”

*Erroneous conclusions, and repugnant to the determination
of the Church.*

“1. That no Prelate ought to excommunicate any one,
“unless he first know that he is excommunicated by God.

“2. *Item*, That he who does so excommunicate is from
“thenceforth an heretic, or excommunicate person.

“3. *Item*, That a Prelate who excommunicates a Cler-
“gyman who has appealed to the King and Council of the
“kingdom, is a traitor to God, the King and kingdom.

“4. *Item*,^k That they who leave off to preach, or to hear
“the word of God or Gospel preached, because they are ex-
“communicated by men, are excommunicates, and shall
“be accounted in the day of judgment traitors towards God.

“5. *Item*,^k To assert that it is lawful for any Deacon or
“Presbyter to preach the word of God without the autho-
“rity of the Apostolical see, or a Catholic Bishop, or any
“other, of which there is sufficient proof.

“6. *Item*, To assert that a civil lord is no lord, a bishop
“no bishop, a prelate no prelate, whilst he is in mortal sin.

“7. *Item*, That temporal lords may, at their pleasure,
“take away temporal goods from ecclesiastics who are ha-
“bitually delinquents; or that the people may, at their
“pleasure, correct delinquent lords.

“8. *Item*, That tithes are pure alms, and that the pa-
“rishioners may detain them because of the wickedness of
“the Curates, and bestow them on others at their pleasure.

“9. *Item*, That special prayers, applied to a particular
“person by Prelates or the Religious, are no more profita-
“ble to that same person, than general prayers are *cæteris*
“*paribus*.

“10. *Item*, That because any one enters on any private

^kIn what sense John Huss understood these two articles may be seen in his
act in defence of them, *Historia et Monum.* vol. i. p. 139, &c.

“ religion whatsoever, he is thereby rendered the more unfit to observe the commands of God.

“ 11. *Item*, That holy men instituting private religions, whether of those who are endowed with possessions, or of the mendicants, sinned in so doing.

“ 12. *Item*, That the Religious living in private religions are not of the Christian religion. This is particularly noted to be a *pernicious error*.

“ 13. *Item*, That Friars are obliged to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging. This is observed to be condemned by Pope Alexander IV.

“ 14. *Item*, That he who gives alms to the Begging Friars or to a Preaching Friar is excommunicated, and that he who receives those alms is excommunicated.”

Knighton tells us, that these twenty-four conclusions being thus condemned by the Archbishop as heretical and erroneous, and all and singular of those who should for the time to come defend them pronounced excommunicated, that this might be the better known to all, a general procession was ordered to be made the Whitsun-week following through the City of London, at which all, as well Clergy as Laity of every degree, went barefoot, according to their stations; and after the procession was over, a sermon was preached by John Kiningham, or Knygham, a Carmelite Friar and Doctor in Divinity.

The Archbishop likewise wrote to the Bishop of London, notifying to him his condemnation of the abovementioned conclusions, and commanding him “ with all speedie diligence to enjoin all and singular his brethren and suffragans of the bodie and Church of Canterburie, that every of them in their Churches and other places of their citie and diocesse, do warne and admonish, that no man from henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errors, or any of them, nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited, or not sent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him, under pain

De Event.
Angliæ, col.
2650, &c.

Fox's Acts,
vol. i. p.
569.
Knighton
de Event.
Angliæ, col.
2651, &c.

CHAP. VI. “ of the greater excommunication which he commands to
 “ be thundred against all and every one who shall be dis-
 “ obedient in this behalf.” A copy of this letter or com-
 mission was sent by the Bishop of London to the Bishop
 of Lincoln, in whose diocese Dr. Wiclif lived, who sent his
 letters mandatory to the Abbots and Priors within the
 archdeaconry of ¹Leicester, to the Official or Commissary of
 the Archdeacon, to the Deans of the Churches or Rural
 Deans, to the Rectors and perpetual Vicars and their
 parochial Chaplains throughout the said archdeaconry, re-
 quiring and commanding them to put in execution the
 Archbishop’s letters.

Coll. No.
31.

Letters were likewise directed to Friar Peter Stokys,
 Professor of Divinity of the Order of Carmelites, in which
 the Archbishop tells him, that “ he had heard by common
 “ fame, that although, according to the canonical sanctions,
 “ nobody that is prohibited, or not sent, ought to usurp to
 “ himself the office of preaching either publicly or pri-
 “ vately, without the authority of the Apostolical see or of
 “ the Bishop of the place: notwithstanding some sons of
 “ eternal perdition, under the cover of great sanctity, denied
 “ any such power, and claimed to themselves an authority
 “ of preaching, and were not afraid to assert, dogmatize,
 “ and publicly to preach, as well in the churches as in the
 “ streets and other profane places within the province of
 “ Canterbury, some propositions and conclusions under-
 “ written, which are heretical, erroneous, and false, being
 “ *formerly condemned by the Church, and repugnant to*
 “ *its determinations*, which threaten the subversion of the
 “ state of the whole Church, and the tranquillity of the
 “ realm; and by so doing did infect some of the faithful,
 “ causing them lamentably to stray from the Catholic faith,
 “ without which there is no salvation: that therefore he,
 “ considering that he ought not to pass over in dissimula-
 “ tion so pernicious an evil, which may creep on many, and
 “ by its deadly contagion destroy their souls, lest their

¹ The rectory of Lutterworth is in the deanery of Goodlaxton, in the arch-
 deaconry of Leicester.

“ blood should be required at his hands, had, by the advice
 “ and assent of very many of his brethren and suffragans, CHAP.
VI.
 “ called together a great many Doctors of Divinity, and
 “ Professors of the Canon and Civil Law, and others of the
 “ Clergy whom he believed to be the most eminent and
 “ skilful in the kingdom, that they might give their votes
 “ and sentiments on the aforesaid questions: that the
 “ aforesaid conclusions and assertions being openly pro-
 “ duced and diligently examined in his presence, and the
 “ presence of his brethren and the doctors called together,
 “ it was finally found and declared, that some of those
 “ questions were heretical, and some of them erroneous,
 “ and *repugnant to the determinations of the Church*. He
 “ therefore commissioned and commanded the abovesaid
 “ Peter Stokys, enjoining him by virtue of that obedience
 “ he owed him, publicly to admonish and inhibit, as he did
 “ by the tenor of these presents, that no one for the future,
 “ of whatever state or condition, do hold, preach, or defend
 “ the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of them, in the
 “ University of Oxford, in the schools or out of them, pub-
 “ licly or privately, or do hear or hearken unto, or favour
 “ or adhere to publicly or privately any one who preaches
 “ these heresies or errors, or any of them, but do fly from
 “ them as from a serpent sending forth pestilential poison,
 “ and avoid them on pain of the greater excommunication,
 “ which by these writings he did decree against all and
 “ singular those who on this occasion shewed themselves
 “ rebels, and did not obey his admonitions.” This letter or
 commission is dated at the Archbishop’s manor of Otte-
 ford the 28th * day of the month of May, A. D. 1382, and * 30th.
 the first year of his translation.

But notwithstanding this condemnation, so much, it
 seems, were Dr. Wiclif and his followers in the good
 graces of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that
 one of them, Dr. Nicholas Hereford, who had been cited Coll. No.
 and appeared before the Archbishop at his court lately ^{33.}
 held at the Preaching Friars, and who, as the Archbishop
 tells the Chancellor, was notoriously suspected of main-

CHAP.
VI.

May 30th.

taining in his sermons and doctrine the said heretical and erroneous conclusions, was appointed by the Chancellor to “preach in his room before the University the most honourable sermon of the year, and therefore deputed to the Chancellor for the time being.” This was directly contrary to the Archbishop’s mandate to his suffragans, and therefore he advises and exhorts the Chancellor in a letter written from the same place, and two days after the former, “for the future not to shew any such favour to such men, lest he should be thought one of their sect and number, and because the King and Lords had promised to assist him and his suffragans, so that, by the grace of God, these men should reign no longer.” He further advises the Chancellor, “that he and the University might learn to abhor the company and erroneous opinions of these presumptuous men, to take care manfully to stand by Peter Stokys in the publication of his (the Archbishop’s) letters directed to him against such sort of conclusions in defence of the Catholic faith: and to cause those letters at large effectually to be published in the divinity schools of the University the next time a divinity lecture was read there, by the beadle of that faculty; and to write back word to the Archbishop what he had done in this matter.”

A. Muri-
muth. Cont.
p. 152.

It seems as if Pope Urban was likewise certified of the Archbishop’s condemnation of these twenty-four conclusions, since it is said that about this time he condemned twenty-four erroneous conclusions held by Wiclif and his disciples.

It does not appear by the record, that Dr. Wiclif was at all cited to appear at this court; nor any of his followers besides Dr. Nicholas Hereford, Dr. Philip Rapyngdon, Canon Regular, and John Ayshton, A. M. who were the principal companions of Dr. Wiclif, and espoused his opinions. The reason why^c Dr. Wiclif himself was not cited, may

^m Mr. Wharton says he was cited, but that he refused to appear, being advised by his friends that a plot was laid by the Prelates to seize him on the road; and that his cause was undertaken by the Chancellor of Oxford, the

probably be, either his being a member, at that time, of the University, who claimed the privilege of being exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction, or, which is more likely, his being seized with the palsy, which utterly disabled him from travelling so far as London. However, the zealous Archbishop found another way to come at his followers. He got this Parliament a bill to pass the Lords *against preachers of heresy*, whereby it was provided, “That the King’s commissions be made and directed to the Sheriffs, &c. according to the certificates of the Prelates to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers as preach sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops and other Prelates, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of Canon and Civil Law, &c. specially assembled for this cause; and also their fautors, &c. and to hold them in arrest and strong prison till they will justify them according to the law and reason of holy Church.” But this act having never had the assent of the Commons, it was, on their request, and declaring in the next Parliament, which met October 6th this year, that it was never their meaning to be justified, and bind themselves and their successors to the Prelates, no more than their ancestors had done before them, revoked and laid aside.

Bishop Gibson’s Codex,
p. 399.

Cotton’s
Abridg-
ment, p.
285.

Of this the Archbishop seemed aware, and therefore obtained of the King a grant, or letters patent, dated at Westminster, July 12th, as before has been intimated, whereby authority and power are given to the Archbishop and his Suffragans “to arrest and detain in their own prisons, or any other, at their discretion, all and singular

A. D. 1382.

two Proctors, and the greatest part of the Senate, who, in a letter sealed with the University seal, sent to the Court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. *Appendix to Cave’s Hist. Liter.* p. 51.

This instance of the University’s kindness and affection for Dr. Wiclif makes it the more probable that the testimonium given to him by the University four and twenty years after was genuine, and not, as is pretended, the forgery of Peter Pain, who put the University seal to it unknown to the Chancellor, Proctors, &c.

Coll.No.21.

CHAP. VI. "who privately or publicly, from that time forward,
 "preach the foresaid Conclusions, wherever they can be
 "found, till they shall repent of the pravities of those er-
 "rors and heresies."

July 13.

He likewise obtained letters patent from the King directed to the Chancellor and Proctors of the University of Oxford, dated the day after the former, by which they were appointed Inquisitors General, and directed that if they knew any within their jurisdiction who were probably suspected to be in the favour, belief, &c. of any heresy or error, and especially of any of the Conclusions, publicly condemned by the Reverend Father William Archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel of his Clergy, &c. and that if they found any who were so bold as to receive into their houses and inns Master John Wiclif, Master Nicholas Hereford, Master Philip Reppington, Master John Ashton, or presumed to communicate with any of them, they should banish and expel them from the University and town of Oxford within seven days after the same shall appear to them: and that if any man had any book or treatise of the setting forth or compiling of the foresaid Mr. John Wiclif, &c. they should cause the same to be seized and taken: and the Sheriff and Mayor of Oxford for the time being, and all and singular the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and Ministers, and others his faithful subjects, are required to be aiding and assisting to them in the execution of these presents.

Coll.No.34.

The Archbishop, very probably, finding nothing done in answer to his letters, sent his mandate to Robert Rigge or Rugge, who was now Chancellor of the University, dated on the Octaves of Corpus Christi at the house of the Preaching Friars, London, and commanded him to publish in St. Mary's Church, and in the schools, in Latin and English, the abovesaid heretical and erroneous Conclusions; and to forbid peremptorily any hereafter to preach or defend them, or any to admit to preach, hear, or hearken unto John Wiclif, &c. who are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or that they either aid or favour any of them;

Antiq. Ox-
on. p. 191.
c. 2.

and that he should inquire in all halls and inns who favoured and promoted the said Conclusions, and oblige such as he discovered to retract them upon oath. The Chancellor answered, "That to do this was as much as his life was worth." To which the Archbishop replied, "That the University must be a fautor of heresy, if she thus was the occasion that Catholic truths were not made public." The next day the Chancellor was summoned before the Council, where, on his appearance, he was commanded by the Lord High Chancellor of the realm, who was now Sir Richard le Scroope, to obey every precept of the Archbishop. The Chancellor therefore immediately returned to Oxford, and the Sunday following published the Archbishop's mandate at St. Mary's, the University Church: but at the same time, as it is said, setting the Seculars against the Religious, by telling them, that the Religious would ruin the University, by giving up and betraying its ancient rights and privileges, whereby it was exempted from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Which suggestion so provoked the Seculars of the University, that many of the Religious went in fear of their lives. Though, as the writer of this account tells us, they in what they did only defended the Church.

Among these Religious, Henry Crumpe, a Cistercian Monk, and Peter Stokes and Stephen Patrington, Carmelite Friars, particularly distinguished themselves in opposing the Conclusions lately condemned by the Archbishop, or in taking the part against the Chancellor. Crumpe, in particular, shewed himself very violent against Dr. Wiclif and his followers, calling them Lollards, and using them with a great deal of scandal and contempt. This was resented by them, and particularly by the Chancellor, as a disturbing the peace of the University. Accordingly Crumpe was cited to appear before the Chancellor, and give in his answer, and on his not appearing was pronounced contumacious, and suspended from his school exercises and lecture. Of this proceeding against him Crumpe complained to the King, that advantage was taken of his being absent at

CHAP. VI. London to assist the Archbishop at the court held by him at the Preaching Friars, to condemn the Conclusions which

Dr. Wiclif was said to maintain; and, that the Doctor's friends in the University took that opportunity of preferring a complaint against him in the Chancellor's Court, of his having, in the last lecture which he read in the schools, broken the peace of the University; and that not being able to obey the summons for his appearing to answer to this complaint, he was by the Chancellor decreed contumacious, &c. The King having received the complaint summoned the Chancellor and Proctors to appear before him in council; where the merits of the cause being examined, it was determined, that the whole process against Crumpe was null and invalid, and, that he should be restored to his school exercises and lecture. For the confirming which sentence the King issued out his letters patent, directed to the Chancellor and Proctors of the University, dated July A.D. 1382. 14, wherein he commands them "on pain of forfeiting all "and singular their liberties and privileges, and every "thing else which they can forfeit, without delay to execute the decree and sentence of the Council: and not to "hinder, grieve or molest Friar Peter Stokys on account "of his absence from the University, or Friar Stephen "Patryngtone, or any other Religious or Secular who favours them on account of any thing said or done by "them concerning the condemnation of the doctrine of "Master John Wiclif, &c. or the punishment of their fau- "tors; but to do all they can to promote peace and unity "in the University, and especially betwixt the Religious "and Secular, and to cherish and preserve it with the ut- "most diligence."

Archbishop
Wake's
State of the
Church; p.
78. Append.

The Archbishop likewise wrote a second letter to the Chancellor, wherein he admonished him "not to let or "molest those Divines of the University, who concerned "themselves in this matter; and to suffer none hereafter "to teach, maintain, preach or defend any such heresies "or errors in the University, either within or without the "schools; and in particular not to admit John Wiclif, &c.

“unto that office of preaching, but to denounce the said
 “persons to be suspended.” But finding that all this did
 not answer his purpose, and having a mind to make a
 strict inquiry into and process against heresy in the Uni-
 versity, the Archbishop required his Clergy to meet in the
 monastery of ⁿ St. Frydeswide there on November 18. this
 same year. I do not find that Dr. Wiclif was at all before
 this Convocation. But John Ashton being strictly exa-
 mined by them was restored to his school exercises, and
 Philip Repyngdon they compelled to abjure the condemned
 Conclusions. As to Dr. Nicholas Hereford, he is said to
 have taken a journey to Rome, and in consistory before
 the Pope to have offered to defend the Conclusions lately
 condemned by the Archbishop, &c. and to shew they were
 true and unreprouable, against all opposers. That for this
 he was condemned to a perpetual imprisonment; but be-
 ing, after some time, released from thence, at the instance
 and importunity of some lords about the Pope, he re-
 turned into England, where he had the same punishment
 inflicted on him by the Archbishop, being by him com-
 mitted to jail. Though others say, he yielded and sub-
 mitted, and took on him the habit of a Carthusian at Co-
 ventry, where he ended his life in the monastery of St.
 Anne. But to return.

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1382.
Reg. Court-
ney, fol.
33. a.Antiq. Ox-
on. p. 193.
c. i.Knighton
de Event.
Angliæ,
coll. 2657.Hist. Uni-
ver. Oxon.
p. 192.

Dr. Wiclif in his writings often speaks of this court at
 the Preaching Friars. He calls it *the Counsaile of Freres
 in London, with the * Herdene, or the earthquake council.*
 In a defence which he wrote after the condemnation of his
 opinions in this assembly, he takes notice of their charging
 him and his followers with asserting, *That God ought to
 obey the Devil.* “Such things,” says he, “do they invent
 “of catholic men, that they may blacken their reputation,
 “as if they held this heresy, That God is the devil, or any

* Herth-
dene, or din:
i. e. Earth-
noise.MS. in Hy-
peroo Bodl.
163.

ⁿ The writer of the Life of William de Wickham Bishop of Winchester tells
 us, that King Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign sent the Archbishop
 and Wickham to Oxford, against that subtle and very acute man John Wiclif,
 to convict him of being an heretic, and expel him from the bounds of the
 University.

Hist. De-
scriptio, &c.

CHAP.
VI.

“ other open heresy; being consequently prepared by false witnesses to impose such heresies on true men, as if they were the false inventors of them.”

In answer to the fourth heretical Conclusion with which he was charged, Dr. Wiclif says thus: “ *Sophisters shulden know well that a cursed man doth fully the sacraments though it be to his damning, for they ben not autours of these sacraments, but God kepeth that Divinity to himself; but of prayers is all the contrary.*”

How Prayer
of good Men
helpeth
much. MS.

Of Servants
and Lords.
MS.

Dial. lib. iv.
c. 37.

Henry
Wharton's
Preface to
Bishop Pea-
cock's Trea-
tise.

Antiq. Ox-
on. p. 190.
c. i.

So with respect to the seventh erroneous Conclusion he observes, that “ *poor Priests were slandred with this error, and that these false lesings were put upon them to make lords to hate them; that these poor Priests destroien most by God's law rebelty of servants agenst lords, and charge servants to be suget though lords be tyrants.*” And that this particular, that *the people may correct delinquent Lords at their pleasure*, is a silly ^opratting of the Friars' invention.

But “ to refute the arguments of Wiclif, and convince his followers with solid reasons, neither the ignorance of the Clergy nor the badness of their cause did then permit. It was accounted too great a condescension in the governors of the Church to confute the mistakes and inform the judgments of their seduced people. Yet somewhat, at least, was necessary to dazzle the eyes of the unthinking multitude, and to set them against their adversaries.” Nothing could be more effectual to this end than charging them with such open blasphemy, and sapping the foundations of civil government, and setting the doors wide open to the bold insults of libertines and atheists, and the no less pernicious ones of ignorant enthusiasts: but notwithstanding these endeavours to blacken Dr. Wiclif's reputation, and the backing them with the assistance of the secular arm, he still gained ground in the affections of the people, and his followers more and

^o *Iners picatia*. I can only guess at the meaning of *picatia*, which I suppose to be a made word, from *pica*, to signify *chattering* like a magpie.

^p The number of those who believed in his doctrine very much increased,

more increased. Although now being overpowered by force, he was obliged to quit the University, and retire to Lutterworth to live constantly there. CHAP.
VI.

Knighton tells us, that Dr. William de Berton, who immediately succeeded Dr. Rygge in the Chancellorship of the University, directed his mandate to all the scholars, in which he admonished them the first, second and third time, and strictly inhibited them from hearing, or hearkening unto, for the future, any one who publicly taught, maintained, or defended, in the schools or out of them, the two erroneous assertions concerning the Sacrament of the altar which he had before mentioned, *viz.* I. That “in the Sacrament of the altar the substance of material bread and wine does really remain after consecration.” II. That “in that venerable Sacrament there is not the body and blood of Christ equally, nor substantially, nor even corporally, so that Christ is there in his own proper corporal presence;” on pain of the greater excommunication. For which this reason is given in the mandate, that “they who will not be reclaimed through fear of damnation, may however be kept from teaching such unlawful doctrine for want of an audience.” De Event.
Angliæ,
Coll. 2654,
&c.

and, like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied, and every where filled the compass of the kingdom; insomuch that a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wiclif's. These were like their master, too eloquent, and too many for other people in all disputes or contentions by word of mouth; being powerful in words, strong in prattling, exceeding all in making speeches, and out-talking every body in litigious disputations. *Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ*, Coll. 2663, 2665.

CHAP. VII.

Dr. Wiclif being retired to Lutterworth continues his labours for Reformation. He is seized with the palsy, and cited to appear before the Pope. He writes a letter to excuse himself, and has another fit of the palsy, of which he dies. Of the persecution of his followers after his death, and the taking up his bones by the order of the Council of Constance, and burning them.

A. D. 1382. **DR. WICLIF** being thus forced to leave the University, and retire to his parsonage at Lutterworth, he still continued his studies and endeavours to promote the reformation of those corruptions which he was convinced had been brought into religion. About this time Pope ^a Urban VI. having his title still questioned by the French, who adhered to Clement, and refused to acknowledge him to be lawful Pope, sent his bulls to Henry le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, to empower him to undertake the croisade against the French, and promising to those who either went with him, or contributed towards the expences of his expedition, the same indulgence which it had been customary to grant to those who go to the assistance of the Holy Land. On this encouragement, the Bishop met with abundance of contributors, especially among the ladies and women, who gave their jewels, necklaces, rings, dishes, plates, spoons, and other ornaments; and very many, as it was thought, gave more than they were able, that they might

Walsingh.
Hist. Angliæ, p. 291.

Knighton,
c. 2671.

^a Of this Pope Dr. Wiclif thus writes: "Of these two Popis it is licly to me, that Urban the Sixte is the bettre man, and the bettre lyvere by Goddis lawe; but this supposaille is lasse than bileve, as many trowthis ben nogt Christen mennes bileve. As to thes eleccions I have no knowledge of God whether of thes be confermed of God, but it is licly to me that the first eleccion of oure Urban is more confermed to Goddis wille. Of bothe thes two materis ben many witnessis; first, Richard de la Souche, Knyghton Persey, Richard Tigete, William Okam, Symkyn Borewelle, Jon Curteys, Preste, Jon Pacown." *De Sathanæ astu contra fidem. MS.*

obtain the benefit of absolution for themselves, and their good friends. CHAP. VII.

Against this *croisado* of the Pope's Dr. Wiclif published a particular tract, and in another written about the same time blames the Pope for bringing "*the seal or banner of Christ on the cross that is token of peace, mercy, and charity, for to slee all Christen men for love of twaie false Priests that ben open Antichrist, for to meyntene their worldly state, to oppress Christendom worse than Jews weren agenst holy Writ, and life of Christ and his Apostles.*" Accordingly he asks, "*Why wole not the proud Priest of Rome grant full pardon to all men for to live in peace, and charity and patience, as he doth to all men to fight and slee Christen men?*"

Great Sentence of Curse expounded, c. xvi.

It seems as if it were about this time that Dr. Wiclif published his book, entitled, *The great Sentence of Curse expounded*: in which he plainly refers to the Archbishop's condemning as erroneous this conclusion, that *temporal lords may, at their pleasure, take away temporal goods from churchmen, who are habitual delinquents.* "Men C. 19. "*wondren,*" says he, "*why they cursen the King and his true officers that for felony or debt, or eschet taken his own goods agenst the will of a false Priest traitour out of these granges, and taken no heed whether they don this by processe of law or else by extortion and tirantrie. And it seemeth that they understonden this however it be taken wrongfully or justly, by their damnation that they made at London in the earth-shaking; where they saiden, that it is errour to seie that secular lords may, at their doom, take temporal goods fro the Church that trespasseth by long custom. If this be errour, as they seyn falsly, then the King and secular lords may take no farthing ne farthing worth fro a worldly clerk, tho' he owe him and his liege men never so much good, and may well paye it and wole not. And thus the King shall be cursed if he do righteousness in his rewme on his liege men, and bring a Sathanas out of his old sin,*

CHAP.
VII.

*“and theft, which thing the king is bounded for to do by
“God’s own word.”*

About the same time one of Dr. Wiclif’s followers published *The Causes that menen poore Priests to receive not Benefices*. The occasion of this seems to have been, that in the Parliament which met in May, 1382, they had been represented by the Prelates as “going from county to county, and from town to town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great holiness preaching matters of sclaunder, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people, to the great peril of all the realm: whom they maintained in their errours by strong hand and by great routs.” In vindication therefore of these his followers, Dr. Wiclif shews that their going from place to place to preach was to profit more to their own souls and other men’s, and that the true reason why they were charged with envy, slandering of Prelates, and destroying of holy Church, was their sad reprovings of sin.

Dr. Wiclif lived but a little while after his residing at Lutterworth, being seized with the palsy before he came thither: but of this fit he was so well recovered as to be able to attend his studies, and preach as before; although he was forced to have a parochial Chaplain or Priest to assist him in the performing the duties of his cure, and be his amanuensis, viz. John Purneye, of whom more hereafter. However he seems to have received this advantage from his being afflicted with this distemper, that he was by it protected from any further prosecution by his adversaries. This was now attempted by Pope Urban, who cited him to appear before him.

A. D. 1382.
Coll.No.23.

To this citation Dr. Wiclif returned a letter of excuse, wherein he tells the Pope that “if he might traveile in his own person, he wode with God’s will go to him, but that Christ had neded him to the contrary; and taught him to more obeishe to God than to man: that he supposes of the Pope that he will not be Antichrist and reverse

“*Christ in this wirking to the contrary of Christ’s will;* CHAP.
 “*for if he summons ageyns resoun by him or any of his,* VII.
 “*and pursue this unskilful summoning, he is an open*
 “*Antichrist.*” To these attempts of the Pope to get him Of Prelates,
 into his power in order to destroy him, Dr. Wiclif seems c. 13. MS.
 to refer when he says, “We seen in this world, that a little
 “harlot despiseth and stroieth his, the Pope’s, Lordship,
 “and yett he doth all his might, all his witt, and all his
 “will to be venged upon such a poor harlot.” And un-
 doubtedly he would not have been suffered to live even as
 he did, and at last to die a natural death, had it not been
 for the quarrel betwixt the two Popes, and he had not la-
 boured under a distemper which his enemies hoped would
 soon put an end to his life. And this it accordingly did A. D. 1384.
 two years after, on St. Silvester’s day, the vigil of the Coll.No.25.
 Circumcision of the Lord, when he being in his church of Leland de
 Lutterworth on Holy ^b Innocents’ day hearing of mass, Hist. Brit.
 about the time of the elevation of the Sacrament, he fell p. 379.
 down, being seized with a violent fit of the palsy, and
 especially in his tongue, so that neither then nor after-
 wards could he speak till his death, which, as has been
 shewn before from the Bishop’s Register, was the last day
 of December, 1384.

On this occasion is Dr. Wiclif’s memory unmercifully
 insulted by his adversaries. Thus one of them tells us,
 “that on the day of St. Thomas the martyr, Archbishop Walsing-
 “of Canterbury, viz. December 29, the day after H. Inno- ham, Hist.
 “cents, John Wiclif, the organ of the Devil, the enemy of Ang. p.
 “the Church, the confusion of the common people, the 312.
 “idol of heretics, the looking glass of hypocrites, the en-
 “courager of schism, the sower of hatred, and the maker
 “of lies, when he designed, as it is reported, to belch out
 “accusations and blasphemies against St. Thomas in the
 “sermon he had prepared for that day, was suddenly
 “struck by the judgment of God, and had all his limbs

^b The Teignmouth Chronicle and Walsingham say, that it was the day after
 December 29, being the feast of Thomas Becket, whom the Romish Church
 styles a saint and martyr.

CHAP.
VII.

Hypodigma
Neustriæ.

December
31.

De Eucha-
rist. p. 978.

Coll.No.25.

Walsing-
ham, ibid.

“ seized with the palsy, and that mouth which was to have
“ spoken huge things against God, and his saints or holy
“ Church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a
“ frightful spectacle to the beholders: his tongue was
“ speechless, and his head shook, shewing plainly that the
“ curse which God had thundered forth against Caim, was
“ also inflicted on him.” So the same writer elsewhere
tells us, “ That in the year 1385, on the feast of the pas-
“ sion of St. Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the organ
“ of the Devil, the enemy of the Church, the confusion of
“ the common people, the idol of heretics, the image of
“ hypocrites, the restorer of schism, the storehouse of lies,
“ the sink of flattery, John Wiclif, being struck by the
“ horrible judgment of God, was seized with the palsy
“ throughout his whole body, and continued to live in this
“ condition till St. Sylvester’s day, on which he breathed
“ out his malicious spirit, which went to the habitations of
“ darkness. And indeed,” says he, “ he was justly enough
“ struck on St. Thomas’s day, whom he had very often
“ blasphemed with his venomous tongue, and condemned
“ to die a temporal death on St. Sylvester’s, whom he had
“ exasperated by frequently inveighing against him in his
“ discourses.” Such is the description which this Monk
gives of the manner of Dr. Wiclif’s death, to be revenged
of him for his zealous invectives against the abuses and
corruptions of the Religious. On which the learned Au-
bertine made this just reflection, that he describes Wiclif’s
death with a pen made of hatred and malice; though it
seems a report was all the ground of this bitter and un-
charitable censure, which is quite spoiled if what Horne
attests in Gascoigne’s relation of his death be true; that
Dr. Wiclif was seized on H. Innocents, the day before the
feast of Thomas Becket. The distemper of which Dr.
Wiclif died is not an uncommon one. His enemies might
have remembered that Archbishop Islip, Dr. Wiclif’s pa-
tron, died of it: and that Archbishop ^cThomas Arundel,

^c Iste Arundell cito post illam constitutionem factam de verbo Dei alligando,

who is styled by Walsingham himself the loftiest tower, and an “invincible champion of the Church of England,”

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was, soon after his condemning that excellent person the Lord Cobham, seized with a distemper in his throat or tongue, which swelled it so excessively, that it quite deprived him of his speech, and quickly put an end to his life.

Usser de
Script. ver-
nac. p. 164.

Thus ended this great man's life, which was full of trouble, and, especially at the latter end of it, exposed to almost continual danger. “He was a man than whom the Christian world in these last ages has not produced a greater; and who seems to have been placed as much above praise as he is above envy. He had well studied all the parts of theological learning, and was well skilled in the canon, civil, and our own municipal laws, and was endowed with an uncommon gravity of manners, and above all things had a flaming zeal for God, and love for his neighbour. Hence arose that earnest and vehement desire of restoring the primitive purity in the Church in that ignorant and degenerate age in which he lived: which desire he was notwithstanding so far from suffering to go beyond its bounds, that he made it a matter of conscience to preserve all the rights of ecclesiastical discipline untouched, and often blames the Religious, as they were called, for breaking in upon them, [by getting themselves exempted from the Episcopal jurisdiction.] His excellent piety, and unblemished life, even the worst and most spiteful of all his adversaries never dared to call in question: and his very excellent

Wharton
ap. Cave,
Hist. Liter.
p. 51, 52.

fuit obtrusus in suo gutture, quod non potuit nec bene loqui, nec deglutire, et sic moriebatur. *Gascoigne Diction. Theolog. MS.*

^d Of this Dr. Wiclif often complains in his writings, particularly in his book called *Dialogi* or *Trialogus*. Experimento didici, quod tractatus de istis ordinibus dolorem ingerit tam subjectivum quam objectivum—Multitudo fratrum et aliorum vocatorum Christianorum—mortem tuam multipliciter machinatur—Concedo, quod sæpe contra caput meum et prosperitatem meam mundanam protuli istam sententiam, viz. *de dotatione Ecclesiæ. Dialogorum* lib. iv. c. 39. 4. 17.

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“ learning and uncommon abilities^e very many of them
 “ have sufficiently owned. And indeed in those writings
 “ of his which are yet remaining, Dr. Wiclif shews an ex-
 “ traordinary knowledge of the Scriptures for the time he
 “ lived in, discovers a very good judgment, argues closely
 “ and smartly, and breathes a spirit of excellent piety.
 “ Nothing is to be found in him that is either childish or
 “ trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age;
 “ but every thing he says is grave, judicious, and exact.
 “ In fine, he was a man who wanted nothing to render his
 “ learning consummate, but his living in an happier age.”

Dr. Wiclif being thus removed out of the reach of his enemies, they were resolved to be avenged of his followers.

A.D. 1388. To this end a commission was given to Thomas Brightwell, D.D. Dean of the new College at Leicester, William Chesulden Prebendary of the same College, Richard de Barowe Knight, and Robert Langham, to seize all the books, tracts, and little books of ^fMr. John Wiclif, Nicholas Hereford, and John Ayshton, and to send them up with all possible speed to the Council: and to make proclamation, strictly requiring in his Majesty's name, that no person of what degree, condition, or quality soever, under the penalty of being imprisoned, and of forfeiting whatever they can forfeit, do presume to maintain, teach, or obstinately to defend, publicly or privately, any of the wicked and scandalous opinions, as they are termed, contained in the said books, or to keep, copy, buy, or sell any such books, tracts, and little books in any manner whatsoever. This commission is dated at Westminster, May 23d, in the eleventh year of the King's reign.

Letters patent were likewise granted at the supplication of the Archbishop, to certain commissioners therein named in most counties, in which is recited the former letter to the Archbishop, and the commissioners are strictly re-

^e Knighton, Archbishop Arundel who said, Wiclif was a great Clerk, and many men held him a perfect liver. *Thorp's Examination.*

^f These Knighton calls hæresiarchs, or leaders of heresy. *De Event. Ang.* Coll. 2657.

quired to make proclamation, that no one presume in any wise to preach, teach, or maintain any of the conclusions, corrupt and wicked opinions contained in the said books, or tracts, or to favour or assist the teachers, maintainers, or preachers of the said opinions, or their fautors, on pain of forfeiting all they can forfeit, but humbly to obey and attend to the Bishop of the diocese, his commissary and officers, in the execution of these presents.

In consequence, I suppose, of these letters were several apprehended and obliged either to abjure or suffer death. And in 1393 were the Conclusions of one John Brut condemned.

King's Library.

Three years after this, 1396, the Archbishop held a provincial council at London, wherein were condemned as heretical eighteen articles or conclusions said to be taken out of his book entitled *Dialogus*. The causes or reasons of this condemnation the Archbishop commanded Friar William Wodford to publish, and at the same time to answer the arguments used in defence of these conclusions. These commands of his Grace Wodford very readily obeyed, and accordingly composed a tract in Latin on this subject, which he seems not to have finished, on account of the intestine broils in which the kingdom was involved at this time, till the beginning of the next reign, when it was published and dedicated to the Archbishop.

Feb. 26.
Fascicul.
Rerum, &c.
vol. i. p.
190.

The same year was there a brief obtained from the King and council to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, commanding him to "cause to be removed from the University Robert Lychlad and all the other heretical Lollards, and such as were suspected of heretical pravity." This brief is dated July 18th in the nineteenth year of the King's reign.

A. D. 1396.

By another brief of the same date, "the Chancellor and Doctors are required by the faith and allegiance by which they are bound to his Majesty, and on pain of forfeiting all they can forfeit, to call together all and every one of the Doctors of Divinity of the University, Regent and Non-regent, and to read and examine Wiclif's *Dialogue*, and to put into writing the heresies and

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“ errors which shall be condemned by them and the said
“ Doctors; and without delay distinctly and openly under
“ their seal to certify in the Chancery all and singular the
“ things which they shall perceive and find, together with
“ the particular inclinations and opinions of the foresaid
“ Doctors.”

It seems as if the University did not very readily comply with this injunction of the King's, pleading the privilege of an exempt jurisdiction. For the beginning of the
A. D. 1397. very next year letters patent dated the 30th day of March were sent to the Chancellor, Masters, and Doctors, “ for-
“ bidding the University to claim any exemption by colour
“ of any Papal bull, to the prejudice of the Royal author-
“ ity, or in favour and supportance of Lollards and here-
“ tics, but that they utterly renounce such a bull on pain
“ of losing all their liberties.”

These, it is not unlikely, were obtained by Archbishop Arundel, who likewise, at the importunate request of the Prelates and Clergy at that time assembled, (who desired that his Grace would visit the University of Oxford, which they said was wholly infected with Wiclif's doctrine, and brought forth abortive children, wholly degenerate from the ancient race,) wrote to the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters, and signified to them that “ he was informed that
“ almost the whole University was touched with heretical
“ pravity, and that therefore he had determined to make a
“ visitation in the church of St. Mary's, or some part there-
“ of.” To purge themselves of this heavy accusation it was ordered in the Congregation of Regents, that twelve of the University should be appointed to examine the books, lectures, and other works, especially those of Wiclif, which were suspected of heresy. This however did not pass without any opposition. For to that degree did the opinions of Wiclif at that time prevail in the Uni-

Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 205. coll. 2. A. D. 1396.

* Of those that opposed this censure, and the Archbishop's constitutions, the following are named, viz. John Luck of Merton College, Rowland Brice of Queen's College, and John Kerby and Robert Burton both of University College. *Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* p. 206. cap. 2.

versity, that it was to no purpose to attempt what they called a reformation. However, the twelve Delegates proceeded to execute their commission, and out of fourteen tracts of Dr. Wiclif's picked out ^htwo hundred and ninety-eight Conclusions, which they thought deserved to be censured. These they sent up to the Archbishop and the Convocation then sitting at St. Paul's, together with a letter signed by the twelve Delegates, in which they tell his Grace and the Synod of the Clergy, "that being supported by their authority, and in obedience to his Grace's whole-some and earnest persuasions and admonitions, they had by twelve select men, Masters and Doctors, very deliberately inspected many books, little treatises, and other tracts, and many little pieces of John Wiclif, and marked in them, excerpted from them, diligently digested and censured, those things which seemed to them contrary to sacred doctrine, and by consequence deserving the fire. But since with very many their authority was but small, they offered those Conclusions, being put together, to the more mature examination of his excellent paternity and his brethren, that by them, if they please, these Conclusions may be further intimated to their most Holy Father the Pope."

Four years after this, Dr. Wiclif's adversaries got an act to be passed, by which any one was forbidden to "presume to preach openly or privately without licence of the Diocesan of the same place first required and obtained; Curates in their own churches, and persons hitherto privileged, and other of the canon law granted, only excepted: and it was ordained that none from thenceforth any thing preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privately, or make or write any book contrary to the *Catholic faith, or determination of the holy Church*, nor make any conventicles, or in any wise hold or exercise schools. Also that none should favour such, but should within forty days from the time of the proclamation of this

^h In the *Fascic. Rerum*. The number of Conclusions or Articles sent by the University to the Council of Constance is three hundred and one.

CHAP. VII. “statute, deliver to the Diocesan such books or writings
“of such wicked doctrine and opinions as they had. And
“he who offended against this royal ordinance, was to be
“arrested by the Diocesan, and proceeded against ac-
“cording to the canons, and being convict, to be kept in
“prison, and fined at the discretion of the Diocesan: and
“if he refused to abjure, or relapsed, he was to be de-
“livered to the secular arm, and burnt for the terror of
“others.”

A. D. 1407. This law was too cruel to meet with much encourage-
Cotton's A-ment from so good a natured people as the English. And
bridgment, therefore about seven years after this, “Henry Prince
p. 456. “was suborned for and in the name of the Bishops and
“Lords; and Sir John Tibetott, the Speaker, for and in
“the name of the Commons, to exhibit a long and bloody
“bill against the poor Lollards, wherein the promoters of
“it shewed a most unlawful and monstrous tyranny: for
“they would have had it enacted, That every officer or other
“minister whatsoever might apprehend and inquire of
“such Lollards without any other commission, and that
“no sanctuary should hold them: the reason of which se-
“verity is said to be, that they preached and taught against
“the temporal livings of the Clergy,” although they added
prophecies touching the King's estate, and whisperings
and bruits that King Richard was living, to insinuate that
the poor Lollards were guilty of these practices, and
thereby to incense the King against them.

A. D. 1408. In the year after this, Archbishop Thomas Arundel
Bishop Gib- made a constitution at Oxford, that from thenceforth none
son's Co- should preach any doctrine contrary to *the determination*
dex, p. 405. *of the Church*, nor call in question what the Church hath
determined upon pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, and
submitting to penance; and of being for the second of-
fence declared a heretic. The penance before mentioned
to be the retractation of his errors publicly in the place
where they were preached, and preaching and teaching
without fraud *the determinations of the Church*.

Ibid. p. 406. It was likewise ordained, that none should read the

books of John Wiclif, or of his cotemporaries, unless they be first examined and approved by one of the Universities, upon pain to suffer as a promoter of schism and heresy; and that none should advance propositions or conclusions (though in the schools) that tend to subvert the Catholic faith, upon pain of the greater excommunication till he confess his fault and retract.

It was further ordained, that none should presume publicly or privately to dispute about articles *determined by the Church*, or to call in question their authority, or teach contrary to *their determination*, and especially about the *adoration of the glorious cross*, the worship of the images of saints, or pilgrimages to their places or reliques; or speak against the administration of oaths in the ecclesiastical and civil courts, in accustomed cases and the ⁱ usual manner. It was likewise ordained, that because the University of Oxford was greatly infected with Lollardy, to the great scandal thereof, and of the Church of England, therefore every Head should inquire monthly whether any scholar hath maintained doctrines against *the determinations of the Church*; and if he should find reason to suspect any one, or that any scholar was defamed of maintaining any such doctrines, he should effectually admonish him to desist; and if after such admonition he continued obstinate, he should, besides suffering the other punishments decreed, be *ipso facto* excommunicate, and expelled his College. That the Heads being found negligent herein shall be excommunicated and deprived, as also if they were detected of holding any the said unsound doctrines. And that offenders in any case against the constitution shall be un-

ⁱ This seems to allude to the formalities then used in taking an oath, which were these. The person that swore was obliged to hold up his three middle fingers, and put them on the book, to signify the Trinity and the Catholic faith; and the other two, *viz.* the thumb and little finger, were to be put under the book and held down in token of the damnation of body and soul, if he did not depose the truth. And after having sworn, he kneeled down and touched the holy Gospel book, and kissed it, saying, So help me God, and this holy dome: or, So help me God, all saints, and the holy Evangelists. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 28. *Bishop Gibson's Codex*, p. 31.

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capable of benefice for three years, besides other punishments at the discretion of the Ordinary, according to the summary methods of proceeding in cases of treason. And that persons suspected of heresy, being cited in due form and not appearing, shall be summarily proceeded against, and sentence shall be given according to the crime.

Lastly, it was ordained, that nobody hereafter should by his own authority translate any text of holy Scripture into English, or any other language, by way of a book, little book, or ^k tract; and that no book, little book, or tract of this nature, now newly composed in the time of John Wiclif, or since, should be read, either in part or all, publicly or privately, under pain of the greater excommunication, until by the Diocesan of the place, or, if the case should require, by a provincial Council, the translation should be approved.

Collier's
Eccl. Hist.
vol. ii. p. 11.
coll. 1.

It is observed by one of our modern Church historians, "that the English Clergy did not believe this translator had reached the original, and rightly expressed the mind of the Holy Ghost." But the learned Selden observed, as a mark of the accuracy of this translation of Wiclif's, that he always translates the word *presbyteros* in the Latin Vulgate, *priests*, and the word *seniores*, *elder-men*. And surely they who by principle preferred the Latin Vulgate to the Hebrew, and thought it of greater authority, and more authentic, could not reasonably complain of Wiclif's not reaching the original because he translated from that. But Dr. Wiclif was condemned for an heretic. However, the forbidding of the Bible to be read in any vulgar tongue, Sir Thomas More thought so unreasonable, that he could not suppose that it was ever meant or designed. He never yet heard, he said, any reason given why it was not convenient to have the Bible translated into the English tongue, but what, for ought he could see, might as well be laid against the holy Writers that wrote

Dialogues,
fol. 96. a.
ed. 1529.

^k Lyndwood expounds the word *tract* to mean a *treatise* in which the text of Scripture is applied, and its sense translated into English. p. 286.

the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek, and those who translated it into Latin. And that as to any harm that might come by such a translation, it was not owing to the translation, but their * lewdness and folly who abused it; and * ignorance. which therefore, in his opinion, was not a sufficient cause to exclude it, and hinder other folk from the benefit of it, who would make a better use of it. But it is plain the Popish Clergy were not generally of his opinion.

In the year 1411, forty-five articles, said to be Dr. Wiclif's, were condemned at London by the Archbishop of Canterbury, thirteen Bishops, and thirty Doctors in Divinity, of which some were said to be scandalous, others erroneous, and the rest infected with heretical pravity. The first of these articles was, that "the substance of material bread, and likewise of wine, remains in the Sacrament of the Altar."

A. D. 1411.
E Libro
Jun. Procuratoris.

In the Parliament held 2 Henry V. the Lollards are charged with great rumours, congregations, and insurrections, here in the realm of England, by their excitation and abetment, to annul, destroy, and subvert the Christian faith, and the law of God and holy Church within the same realm of England; and also to destroy the same our Sovereign Lord the King, and all other manner of estates of the same realm of England, as well spiritual as temporal; and also all manner of policy, and finally the laws of the land. It was therefore enacted, that all officers at their admission shall take an oath to destroy Lollardy, and to assist the Ordinaries therein; that heretics convict shall forfeit their lands, and goods, and chattels; that the justices shall have power to inquire of offences against this act, and to award a *capias*, and the offender shall be delivered to the Ordinary within ten days, who shall not take the secular indictments in evidence, but commence new process: that the party may be let to mainprise: that every Ordinary shall have commissaries to receive heretics of the sheriffs, who shall impanel sufficient juries: and that a heretic breaking prison shall forfeit his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, which he had the day of

A. D. 1414.
Bishop Gibson's
Codex,
p. 403, 404.

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his arrest, to the King, who shall have the profits thereof until he yield to the prison from whence he escaped; only if such person returned not to prison, and died not convict, his heirs were to enter on his lands and tenements after his death.

Cotton's A-
bridgment,
p. 555.

Tertullian.
Apol. p. 26.

These¹ wholesome severities, or devout rigours, as they were then called by the zealous Churchmen, occasioned the learned Abridger of our Records to make the following remark: that "the Clergy, at this time, ceased not to rage and roar after Christian blood *tanquam leones rugientes*, "and whosoever did the fault, they put John Porter in the "stocks, and cried, Crucify Christ, and deliver us Barab- "bas; for now all horrible mischiefs whatsoever were im- "puted to the poor Lollards." Just as the bigotted and superstitious among the Heathens served the Christians, representing them as guilty of all manner of wickedness, and the enemies of the gods, of princes, of the laws, of good manners, and the whole human nature.

A. D. 1416.
Spelman's
Councils,
vol. ii. p.
672.

That these hated and persecuted men might no where be sheltered, but that all persons might deny them succour, Archbishop Chichely, two years after this, in a Convocation held at London, made a constitution which he sent to the Bishop of London and his other Suffragans to be put in execution; wherein he "enjoined all Suffra- "gans and Archdeacons in the province of Canterbury, "with their Officials and Commissaries in their several "jurisdictions, diligently to inquire twice every year "after persons suspected of heresy: that where any re- "puted heretics were reported to dwell, three or more "of that parish should be obliged to take an oath that

¹ William de Newburgh giving an account of the cruel usage of the Albigenes, who fled hither for refuge in King Henry the Second's reign, viz. that they were burnt in the forehead, and whipped, their clothes being cut up to their waists, and in that condition, in the midst of winter, turned out of the city, and every body forbade to shew them the least pity, and so they perished with the cold and greenness of their wounds: he adds, "*Hujus severitatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa quæ jam irrepserat Angliæ regnum purgavit, verum etiam, ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hæreticis terrore præcavit.*" *Histor. lib. ii. c. 13.*

“ they would certify in writing to the Suffragans, Arch-
 “ deacons, or their Commissaries, what persons were here-
 “ tics, or who kept private conventicles, or who differed in
 “ life and manners from the common conversation of the
 “ faithful, or who asserted heresies or errors, or who had
 “ any suspected books written in the vulgar English
 “ tongue, or who received, favoured, or were conversant
 “ with any persons suspected of error or heresies. —
 “ That the Diocesans, upon information, should issue out
 “ process against the accused persons, and if they did not
 “ deliver them over to the secular court, yet they should
 “ commit them to perpetual or temporary imprisonment,
 “ as the nature of the cause required, at least until the
 “ sitting of the next Convocation.”

This was a most effectual way to ruin the poor Wic-
 lifites. For that now an inquisition was set up in every pa-
 rish, and men were set at variance against their own fathers
 and mothers and nearest relations: so that often a man's
 greatest foes were those of his own household and blood.

Accordingly we find too frequent instances upon record, of the brother detecting the brother and sister, the hus-
 band the wife, the sons their own father and mother, the
 servants their mistresses, and parents their own children. It is no wonder therefore that many were informed of, and
 brought before the Bishops, and forced either to abjure, or to suffer perpetual imprisonment, or be burnt. By
 these cruel and unchristian methods was the great and
 noble John Lord Cobham, about this time, betrayed and
 seized, and condemned to die as a traitor to both God and
 the King, being hanged on a gallows by a chain fastened
 about his middle, and roasted to death by a fire made un-
 der him; which was the first noble blood that was shed
 in England, on the account of religion, by Popish cruelty.

But though these barbarities, so reproachful to the
 Christian name and religion, terrified men's minds, and
 forced them to a quiet submission; yet they no way con-
 tributed to alter their judgments, and settle their belief.
 Nay it was very plain, that, though by authority, or the

Bishop
 Longland's
 Register in
 Fox's Acts
 and Monu-
 ments, vol.
 ii. p. 34, 40,
 41, 42, 43,
 44, 47, 49,
 50.

Erasmi E-
 pist.adAdri-
 anum VII.

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Polydor.
Virgil. An.
Hist. p. 400.
Leland de
Script. Brit.
p. 380.

secular arm, whereby they were devoted to destruction, the Wiclifites were *oppressed*, they were not ^m *extinguished*. For all it was made more than capital to have even a line of Wiclif's writings, there were those who had courage enough to preserve them, and to take copies of them; although for the crime of having them, some of them were burnt alive with their little books. And indeed how little these cruelties served to convince men, very plainly appeared, when, at the Reformation, about one hundred years after, these restraints were either moderated or quite taken off; the whole nation, we see, whatever their outward profession was before, unanimously, as it were, embraced these principles, and shewed themselves very earnest in their defence. Although we are now unhappily fallen into an age that has lost its first love, and is so generally corrupted both in principle and practice, as to suffer the opposition then made to Popish tyranny and superstition to be condemned, and the cruelties used to force men to approve of them, to be palliated and discredited.

A. D. 1415. At this time the Council of Constance sat, in which were condemned forty-five articles, said to be Dr. Wiclif's, as heretical, false, and erroneous; and he himself was declared an obstinate heretic, and his bones ordered

^m So true did the observation prove that was made by the Oxford Delegates, Coll. No. 7, that Dr. John Wiclif had within these few years produced so many heirs of his sect, that, as they probably believed, they would scarce be dis-
planted or cut up with the sharpest weeding hooks and roughest censures. For it appears by the Register of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln A. D. 1521, almost one hundred and forty years after Dr. Wiclif's death, that in that diocese, which was then indeed a very large one, were accused and detected above five hundred men and women of the following crimes, as they were then reputed; *viz.* having a book of the exposition of the Gospels in English; buying a Bible [in English]; reading in a certain English book of Scripture; receiving a book of the Ten Commandments in English; learning the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the five witts, bodily and ghostly, the eight blessings, and five chapters of St. James's Epistle, the Pater noster, Ave, and Creed, in English; reading Wiclif's Wicket, and speaking against pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and the singing service then used in Churches. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 33.

to be dug up, if so be they could be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, and cast on a dunghill. The decree of the Council sets forth, that “by the authority of A. D. 1428.
 “the sentence and decree of the Roman Council, and of
 “the mandate of the Apostolic see, the Council proceeded
 “on the condemnation of John Wiclif and his memory:
 “and that having published injunctions to cite all who
 “would defend the said Wiclif or his memory, and nobody
 “appearing for that purpose; and having moreover examined witnesses of the impenitence and final obstinacy
 “of the said Wiclif, and they being proved by evident
 “signs attested by lawful witnesses, the holy Synod did
 “declare and define the said John Wiclif to have been a
 “notorious heretic, and to have died obstinate in heresy,
 “by excommunicating him and condemning his memory;
 “and did judge, that his body and bones, if they could
 “be distinguished from those of the faithful, should be
 “disinterred, or dug out of the ground, and cast at a
 “distance from the sepulchre of the church.” This sentence was not executed till thirteen years after, when orders were sent by the Pope to Richard Flemming, then Bishop of Lincoln, to take up Dr. Wiclif’s bones and remove them. Whose officers accordingly took them out of the grave, where they had lain undisturbed four and forty years, and not only *disinterred*, but *burnt* them, and cast the ashes into a brook adjoining, called Swift.

All this cruelty, the reader cannot but observe, was exercised on the poor unhappy Wiclifites, not only for their opposing the faith of the Scriptures, as was pretended, but for their not submitting to the unexamined *determinations of holy Church*, and the absolute authority of the same. They are charged with “preaching and teaching openly and
 “privily divers new doctrines and wicked heretical or erroneous opinions, contrary to the Catholic faith builded on
 “Christ, and blessed determinations of the holy Church—
 “in subversion of the said Catholic faith, and doctrine
 “of the holy Church.” So that the determinations and doctrine of holy Church are put on the same level, and

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reckoned of equal obligation with the Catholic faith builded on Christ. Nay, this Catholic faith is affirmed to be such as the Church hath sufficiently determined, declared, and approved. This was the engine which about this time was set up, as most successful against the prevailing growth of the poor distressed Wiclifites. The eyes of the unthinking multitude were dazzled with this pretence, the authority of holy Church, and infallibility of her determinations. All the arguments and reasons of condemned heretics, though never so good and solid, were reckoned sufficiently answered, by its being asserted that they were contrary to the determinations of holy Church, to the authority of which it was the duty of all true Churchmen to submit; and the maintenance of this pretence was esteemed the great bulwark and security of the Church. The vanity of these pretences Dr. Wiclif discovered, and in this followed the opinion of the most learned writers of even that age, who

Mr. Whar-
ton's Pre-
face to a
Treatise of
Bishop Pe-
cock's, p.35.
Wiclif's Tri-
alogue, fol.
109.

maintained, that "the representative Church, or general Councils, were not only fallible, but had sometimes actually erred;" that "the Pope and his Cardinals did often revolt from the faith, or lead into error themselves and their Churches; that "the decrees and definitions of the Church ought to be submitted to the examination of every private person; that no article of faith was to be received which was repugnant to the principles of reason; and that not the belief and acceptation of the Church caused any doctrine to be accounted true, and an article of faith, but the presupposed truth of the doctrine rendered the belief of it rational and justifiable." And all this was very necessary in an age so fatally credulous and ignorant as to admit the doctrine of the Church's infallibility so far as to believe, that "if it should happen that the Church militant and the Church triumphant disagreed in an article of faith, the determination of the Church militant ought rather to be followed." But not-

"Quod si replicas ex hoc sequi quod Papa et Cardinales sui frequenter in fide deficiunt ac se et Ecclesias suas sæpe decipiunt, vera est conclusio sed dolenda. *Trialog.* fol. 109.

withstanding the extravagancy of this assertion, it was so well calculated, like the doctrine of transubstantiation, for magnifying the power and authority of the Clergy, that he was looked upon but with an evil eye by them, and esteemed no friend to the Church, who was so hardy as to oppose it. And the Clergy being now backed by the civil power, made those they counted their enemies but too sensible of the ill effects of their having an ill opinion of them. To use the words of one of Wiclif's followers, *Prologue, c. 10.*

*“ they despisen, beaten, and sleen Christen men, made to
 “ the image and lykenes of the Holy Trinitie.—That it
 “ were better to hem dwellen among heathen than in such
 “ congregations.”*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Dr. Wiclif's Opinions.

IN the foregoing chapters I have, according to the best light I could get, given a faithful account of the life of Dr. John Wiclif, and the sufferings he met with on account of the opposition which he made to the errors and corruptions of the age in which he lived. In doing this, I have been obliged to mention some of the opinions for which he was persecuted by the then Church representative. But since they were afterwards so much misrepresented by his adversaries, and so many others were charged upon him which were not so much as mentioned during his lifetime; I have thought it proper to add this chapter, in which I intend to give as good an account of them as I can get from those of his writings which I have seen.

In præfat.
libri cui
tit. Sen-
tentiae Vete-
rum de Cœ-
na Domini
inscrip. Fre-
derico My-
conio. t. i.
p. 416, 417.
F. Parsons's
Three Con-
versions,
part 3.
c. 5. §. 7.

The censure which the great Melancthon passed on him is well known, and made great use of by the Papists^a. “I have looked,” says he, “into Wiclif, who is very confused in this controversy, [of the Lord’s Supper;] but I have found in him many other errors, by which a judgment may be made of his spirit. He neither understood, nor believed the righteousness of faith. He foolishly confounds the Gospel and politics, and does not see that the Gospel allows us to make use of the lawful forms of government of all nations: he contends, that it is not lawful for priests

^a Inspexi et Wiglephum qui valde tumultuatur in hac controversia, sed deprehendi in eo multa alia errata, ex quibus judicium de spiritu ejus fieri potest. Prorsus nec intellexit, nec tenuit fidei justitiam. Inepte confundit Evangelium et politica, nec videt Evangelium nobis concedere ut legitimis omnium gentium politiis utamur: contendit presbyteris non licere ut possideant quidquam proprium. Decimas nullis vult solvi nisi docentibus, quasi vero Evangelium vetet uti politicis ordinationibus. De dominio civili sophisticè et plane seditiose rixatur. Ad eundem modum de Cœna Domini sophisticè cavillatur publice receptam sententiam.

“to have any property. He will have it that tithes ought
 “to be paid to none but those who teach, as if the Gospel
 “forbade the use of political ordinances. He wrangles so-
 “phistically and downright seditiously about civil domi-
 “nion. In the same manner he cavils sophistically against
 “the received opinion of the Lord’s Supper.”

Elsewhere he observes, that “Wiclif plainly raved in
 “denying that it was lawful for priests to have any proper-
 “ty: that Wiclif was mad in thinking that the ungodly
 “could have no dominion.”

De trad.
hum. p. 127.
In certis dis-
put. p. 330.

So again, in another tract, he says, that “the Wiclifian
 “superstition which obliges the ministers of the Church to
 “be beggars, and denies that it is lawful for them to have
 “any property, is pernicious and seditious.”

Loci com-
munes; de
Potestate
Ecclesiæ,
t. ii. p. 555.

The same things were objected to him by the Papists, as
 what they thought even Protestants themselves would not
 defend.

“1. ^b That if a Bishop or Priest should give holy Orders,
 “or consecrate the Sacrament of the Aaltar, or minister
 “Baptisme, whiles he is in mortal syn, it were nothing
 “avaylable.

F. Par-
sons’s Three
Conver-
sions, part 2.
c. 9. §. 9,
10.

“2. That it is against Scripture, for any ecclesiastical
 “ministers to have any temporal possessions at all.

“3. That no Prelate ought to excommunicate any person,
 “except he know him first to be excommunicated by God.

“4. That so long as a man is in deadly syn, he is neither
 “bishop nor prelate.

“5. That temporal lords may, according to their own
 “wills and discretion, take away the temporal goods from
 “any Churchmen, whensoever they offend.

“6. That tithes are meere almes, and detayned by the
 “parishioners, and bestowed where they will at their plea-
 “sure.”

The first and fourth of these are to the same purpose,
 Historia et Monumenta,
vol. i. p.
159.

^b These articles are the 4th, 10th, 11th, 16th, 17th, 18th, of those condemned by
 Archbishop Courtney, &c. at the Preaching Friars, London, in 1382, though F.
 Parsons says, “they were some of Wiclif’s first articles condemned at Oxford,
 “about the year of Christ 1380, and that after he published many worse.”

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VIII.

and are vindicated by John Huss, who observes that the article consists of three parts: 1. That a civil or temporal lord is no lord whilst he is in mortal sin. 2. That a prelate is no prelate whilst he is in mortal sin. 3. That a bishop is no bishop whilst he is in mortal sin. The first of these he thus explains; That a civil or temporal lord is not a civil lord *apud Deum*, or in God's account, so long as he continues in mortal sin. For this he quotes Hosea viii. which he thus paraphrases: "*They reigned*, to wit, by usurpation, "*and not by me*, who never approved of their abuse of "*their government. They were princes*, to wit, by name "*or title, and I did not know them*; that is, I did not approve of their usurped principality as to the abuse of it."

And this seems very plainly to have been Dr. Wiclif's meaning. In his Trialogue, as it is quoted by William Wodford, he thus writes: "In the viiith of Hosea it is written of "*unbelieving kings, They reigned, but not by me; they were princes, and I knew it not*; and it is added as the "*reason, of their silver and their gold have they made them idols, that they may be cut off*. They who do not reign "*of God, and whom in bearing rule he does not acknowledge*; there is no doubt but they want a just dominion." And therefore he concludes, that "*it seems plain, that no one in mortal sin hath a true dominion over any of the creatures apud Deum, in the sight of God; but deserves to be called a tyrant, a thief, and a robber, although, by reason of some human law, he retain the name of a king, or a prince, or a lord*." In this opinion he followed St.

Adv. Johan.
Wiclefium
Anglum.

Histor. et
Monumen-
ta, vol. i.
p. 161.

Austin, as has been before hinted, who is quoted by Huss, as asserting that *omne quod male possidetur, alienum est, male autem possidet qui male utitur. Fideli homini totus mundus divitiarum est, infideli autem nec obolus*. To the

Ecclesiæ re-
gimen. MS.

same purpose he elsewhere observed, "*If temporal lords do wrongs and extortions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his people, and tyrants of Antichrist*."

Dr. Wiclif, it is certain, always taught subjection and

^c In the article, as it was condemned by the Archbishop, are the words *civil lord*, which are omitted by Parsons.

obedience to princes. "*Christ*," says he, "*and his Apostles weren most abeisant to kings and lords, and taught-*
en all men to be suget to them, and serve them truly and
wilfully in bodily works and tribute, and dread them and
worship them before all other men.——*Jesu Christ*
paid tribute to Emperour, and commanded men to pay him
tribute. And St. Peter commandeth in God's name
Christen men to be suget to every creature of man either
to King as more high than other, either to Dukes as sent
of him to the vengeance of misdoers, and praising of
good men. Also St. Paul commandeth by auctority of
God that every soul be suget to higher powers, for there
is no power but of God. Princes ben not to the dread of
good work, but of evil work. Wilt thou not dread the
potestate, do good, and thou shalt have praising thereof.
For he is God's minister to them to good. Sothly if
thou hast don evil, dread thou, for he beareth not the
sword without cause; for he is God's minister, venger
into wrath to him that doth evil. Therefore through
need be ye suget not only for wrath but for conscience.
Pay to all men debts, both tribute, and custom for things
born about in the lond, and dread and honour and love.
And our Saviour Jesu Christ suffered mekely painful
death of Pilate not excusing him for his jurisdiction by
his Clergy. And St. Paul profered him ready to suffer
death by doom of the Emperour's justice, if he were wor-
thy to death, as deeds of the Apostles techen." Accord-
 ingly he blames the Clergy of his time for being traitors to
 kings and lords in denying this obedience, because they
 pleaded to be exempt from the King's jurisdiction and chas-
 tising, and refused "*to pay any subsidie, or tax, or help-*
ing of our King and our rewme, without leave and as-
sent of the worldly priest of Rome." So true is what
 Dr. Wiclif says of himself and followers, that they "*de-*
stroien most by God's law rebelty of servants agenst
lords, and charge servants to be suget though lords be
tyrants."

Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.
MS. c. 11.

As to the second and third parts of this article, viz. that

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prelates and bishops in mortal sin are no prelates and bishops, or that they do not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize; I have shewn before that Wiclif denied the charge, and expressly affirms, that the effect of Christ's ordinance is not taken away by the wickedness of those that minister it; since, as he observes, ^d "*they ben not autours of the Sacraments.*" What gave occasion to his being understood otherwise seems to have been his affirming, that "wicked men's prayer displeaseth God, and harmeth themselves and the people." It was then said, that "though men be not worthy to be heard in praying for their own good life, yet their prayer is heard in merit of holy Church, for they ben procuratours of the Church." To which Dr. Wiclif replied, "*that this is a foul sophisme, a foul and a sotil deceit of Antichrist's clerks to colour their sin thereby. For this gloss is foule but contrary to God's words, and none of these great holy Doctors knewen this feyned sotilty of words till the fend was unbounden. Why shoulde God hear graciously such a cursed man's prayer? for he despiseth God in his holy service, and falsly deceiveth Christen men, and evil taketh the honour of priesthood agenst God's hests. For God comandeth by St. Paul that no man take to him this honour but he that is cleped of God as Aaron. And the people gesseth to find a true servant of God and clene of life and devout to help them against their sins, and combrance of the fend; and if he be not such he deceiveth foul Christen people.*"

How Prayer
of good
men helpeth
much. MS.

Apologia,
c. 13.

But notwithstanding the falseness of this charge, the enemies of the Protestant name and religion are continually repeating it, to expose Protestants as enemies to all order either in Church or State, and particularly as to the last, of very seditious and rebellious principles. "If," says Bellarmine, "the King pleases to hear or read the

^d Unless a Christian priest be united unto Christ by grace, Christ cannot be his Saviour; *nec sine falsitate dicit verba sacramentalia*, neither can he speak the sacramental words without lying, *licet prosint capacibus*, though they are profitable to the worthy receivers. *De Verit. Script. MS. p. 138.*

“ truth, he will find that the doctrine [of murdering princes]
 “ which he objects to the Catholics, is the property of the
 “ innovators; certainly of John Wiclif, an Englishman whom
 “ the Protestants value, and whose praises Fox and Cris-
 “ pin, writers of the new Gospel in England, have placed
 “ in a chapter of their books. In the eighth session of the
 “ Synod of Constance, these articles are condemned: A
 “ secular lord or prelate is no lord or prelate so long as he
 “ is in mortal sin. The people may, at their pleasure, cor-
 “ rect their lords if they offend.”

On this occasion I beg leave to give another instance of the misrepresentation of Dr. Wiclif's opinions by his adversaries. In or about the year 1254, the Friars at Paris published a book which they called *The eternal Gospel*. In this *cursed book*, as it is called by the University of Paris, the Gospel of Christ is compared with this *Eternal Gospel*, and is found to be less perfect and worthy; as the light of the moon is less than that of the sun, and the shell not so much worth as the kernel. Against this book William St. Amour wrote, to oppose the blasphemies contained in it: in which he attempted to shew that the times he lived in were the last times, or near approaching to them. This he does by enumerating eight signs, the first of which is, “ that some endeavour to change the Gospel of Christ into another Gospel, which they say will be more perfect, and better, and more worthy, which Gospel they call the *eternal Gospel*, or the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, which, when it comes, will void or set aside the Gospel of Christ.” This, Henry de Knighton tells us, “ was very exactly completed in Wiclif and his followers, who, he says, “ have changed the Gospel of Christ into the *eternal Gospel*, that is, the vulgar and common mother tongue, and so *eternal*, because by the laity it is reckoned better, and more worthy than the Latin.”

But to proceed. Dr. Wiclif is charged with asserting that “ it is not lawful for priests to have any *property*, and that they ought to be beggars; and that tithes are

Usseri de
Christ.
Eccl. Suc-
cess. p. 189.

De Event.
Angliæ, lib.
v. col. 2646.

Spalat. de
Rep. Eccl.
lib. ix. c.
2. §. 26.

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How Religious Men
shulde kepe
certain Articles. MS.
Trial. fol. 76.
Of Priesthood. MS.
c. 2.
Of Clerk's Possession-
ers. MS. c. 1.

* afford.

Short Rule
of Life. MS.† com-
mands.

‡ lay.

"e mere alms, and ought to be paid to none but those that teach or do their office."

Now it is very plain from Dr. Wiclif's writings, that he thought it "*reasonable that a good priest have reasonable liflode to serve God.*" Nay he allows it to be "lawful to have a moderate provision besides the necessities of food and raiment." Accordingly he finds fault with "*appropriing parish churches to over rich houses, and putting there an idiot, and giving him too little liflode, and taking all the profit to themselves.*" Dymes and offerings he styles *God's part*, and says that "*Clerks should live on them, and blames the Religious for making the Commons so poor that they may not *forthe to pay them to Curates.*" Accordingly he thus advises the Clergy of his time: "*If,*" says he, "*thou be a Priest, and namely a Curate, live thou holily, passing other men in holy prayer, and desire, and thinking, in holy speking, counseiling and true teching, and ever that God's †hests, his Gospel, and vertues ben in thy mouth, and ever despise sin to draw men therefro, and that thy deeds ben so rightful, that no man shall blame them with reson, but that thine open deeds be a true book to all sugets and ‡lewd men to serve God and do his hests thereby. For ensample of good life, and open and lasting, stirreth more rude men than true preching by naked word. And wast not thy goods in great feasts of rich men, but live a mean life of poor men's alms and goods both in meat, and drink, and cloths, and the remnant geve truly to poor men that have*

* Formula illa, quam *frank-almoigne*, seu *liberam eleemosynam* vocitamus, ad ordinem sacrum tantummodo spectat, et neque censum neque fidei professionem, sed precum solummodo in patronorum seu dominorum salutem effundendarum officium a clientibus exigit, ita tamen ut civili foro cliens de ea resisti non possit. *Seldeni Notæ ad Eadmerum*, p. 203.

—of religious men that hold in *free alms*, and not by a barony nor part of a barony, the Marshal shall from henceforth demand nothing. *Stat. 13. Edw. I. c. 42.*

*Living*s given of devotion, bestowed for charity only without praying or paying.

“ *not of their own, and may not labour for febleness or sickness. And thus thou shalt be a true priest both to God and to men.*” CHAP. VIII.

By all this it seems very plain that it was never Dr. Wiclif's meaning, that the Clergy should have nothing of their own, but be reduced to a state of beggary. The occasion of this reproach seems to have been,

1. That Dr. Wiclif calls the tithes and offerings *poor men's goods*, by which it is understood as if he meant they were intended for the maintenance of the poor, not of the Clergy. But this, it is observed, is the language of the ancient canons, in which the goods of the Church are always termed *the patrimony of the poor*, because the principal design of conferring on the Church so many and great estates was making provision for the poor, the care of which was therefore entrusted with the Bishops. But Dr. Wiclif often calls the tithes and offerings *God's portion*, and inculcates, that the Clergy should live on them, and be content with them, and not covet great lordships and rich manors. This he at large explains in his Trialogue.

2. Dr. Wiclif observed, that “ *we readen not in all the Gospel where Christ paid tithes, or had any man do so. — that in one country is one manner of tithing, and in another fast by is a contrary manner, and if tithes weren due by God's commandment, then every where in Christendom shulde be one manner of tithing:*” by which he seems to have meant the very same with that which another very learned man has lately maintained, *viz.* that tithes, though they are of a divine original, are not of divine right, or are not commanded by any express law of Christ.

3. He contended that people should “ *pay their tithes and offerings as they did within 8 few years, to good*”

Great Sentence of Curse expounded. MS. c. 14.

Dean Pri-
deaux of
Tithes.

Complaint to the King and Parliament. MS.

^f The goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor. *King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions.*

^g If there came any new lord, or there were any people within the precinct, who were independent on the Patron, they were at liberty to choose any neigh-

CHAP.
VIII.* excom-
munication.Complaint
to the King
and Parlia-
ment. MS.Of Clerks
Possession-
ers. MS.
c. 25.
Of the Office
of Curates.
MS. c. 5.Of the Or-
der of
Priesthood.
MS. c. 19.
Trial. fol.
62.

*"men and able, to great worship of God, to profit and fairness of holy Church fighting in earth——that those things that ben due to priests shulden not be axed by strength, ne violence, or * cursing, but be geven freely withouten exaction or constreyning."*

4. He disliked that *"poor people should be constrained to find a worldly priest, sometime unable both of life and kunning, in pomp and pride, covetisse and envy, glotony, drunkenness, and lechery, in simony and heresy with fair hors, and jolly and gay saddles and bridles ringing by the way, and himself in costly cloths and pelure, and to suffer their wives and children and their poor neighbours perish for hunger, thirst and cold, and other mischiefs of the world."*

5. He observed that *"the principal cause for which tithes and offerings shulde be paid was Curates teching their parishens in word and example. And that in many caas sujetos may lefully withstond tithes by God's law and man's also; and that the Curates ben more cursed of God for withdrawing of teching in word and deed in good ensample, than the ^h sujetos or people in withdrawing tithes and offerings, when they don not well their gostly office."*

6. He reproved the Clergy of those times for *"preching and ministring the Sacraments for their winning, for seking greater salaries, and setting forth fables and new sotilties for vain name of Clergy."* "Before Cæsar," says he, *"endowed the Church, no one took this honour of the priesthood upon him, unless he was called of God."*

bouring church or any religious house, and to pay their tithes wherever they received the benefits of religion. *Bishop Kennett's Case of Impropriat.* p. 11.

This arbitrarie disposition, used by the Laitie, as well *de jure* (as the positive law then received and practised was) as *de facto*, is that which Wiclif remembered in his complaint to the King and Parliament under Richard II. *Selden of Tithes*, p. 291.

^h This, Dr. Wiclif tells us, his enemies, in order to make him odious to the civil government, represented, as if he had taught, that *"servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rents and service fro their lords, when lords ben openly wicked in their living."* Of Servants and Lords. MS.

“Whereas now men aspire to the Primacy in the Church, CHAP. VIII.
 “to be honoured and respected of man, or for the sake of
 “worldly gain.”

7. He lamented the abuse of the Church's goods. “ⁱ *The Of Clerks Possession-
 “angel,”* saith he, “*said full sothe, when the Church was* ers. MS.
dowed, that this day is venym shed into the Church. For c. 9.
they that shulden be most meek and wilful poor, and in
most devotion and mirrour of all worldly vertues to world-
ly men, ben now turned into Lucifer's pride and Satha-
na's covetisse, and Antichrist's hypocrisie, and idleness,
and ben mirrour of all sins, and no tongue in this life can
tell the harms thereof.”

Lastly, he disliked the Religious, &c. their having lord-
 ships and manors, of which, at that time, so many were in
 the hands of ecclesiastics, that it has been computed, they Bishop San-
 had little less than one half of the *temporalties* of the king- derson's Ser-
 dom. Dr. Wiclif therefore shewed, that “*in the old law all* mons, p.
 “*Priests and Deacons, and officers of the temple, weren sus-* 211.
 “*tained by tithes and offerings, and had none other lord-*
 “*ship ;*” and that temporalties belong to temporal men.”

By property is meant “the highest right that a man Great Sen-
 “hath or can have to any thing, which is no way de- tence of
 “pending upon any other man's courtesy.” And this, Curse ex-
 as it has been observed, “none in our kingdom could an- pounded.
 “ciently be said to have in any lands or tenements, but MS. c. 18.
 “only the King in the right of his crown. Because all
 “the lands through the realm were in the nature of fee, and
 “did hold either mediately or immediately of the crown.”

And if this be true with respect to lands or tenements, that
 no man has strictly the propriety of them, it must be much
 more so in the case of tithes, or lands or tenements be-
 stowed upon God, that is, given to such people as bestow

ⁱ Narrant Chronica quod in dotatione Ecclesiæ vox audita est in aere Angeli-
 ca tunc temporis sic dicentis; “Hodie effusum est venenum in Ecclesia sancta
 “Dei.” *Wiclif. Trialog.* lib. iv. c. 18.

Illo tempore [anno iiii. c. xv] Dyabolus in aere volando clamavit, “Hodie vene-
 “num Ecclesiis Dei infusum est.” *Thomæ Sprott, Chronicon*, p. 43. Vide Usher
 de Christianiæ Eccles. Successione.

CHAP.
VIII.25 Edw. III.
Stat. 6.Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.
MS. c. 19.Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.
MS. c. 19.

p. 130.

Of Prelates.
MS. c. 9.
Attendite a
fermento
Pharisæo-
rum. MS.
c. 4. 3.

themselves in the service of God, for *pure and perpetual alms*. For here is plainly a condition implied in the very donation. The benefice is given for the office. And thus much our own municipal laws assert, that “the holy Church of England was founden in the estate of Prelacy by the King, Earls, Barons, &c. *to inform them and the people of the law of God, and to make hospitalities, alms, and other works of charity in the places where the Churches were founded,*—and certain possessions, as well in fees, lands, rents, as in advowsons, assigned to sustain the charge.”

For the same reason are the tithes styled *the goods of the poor*, because they are given to make hospitalities and alms. But Dr. Wiclif no where, that I can find, asserts, that the tithes and offerings are to be ^k detained by the parishioners, and bestowed where they will at their pleasure. He expressly limits this to many cases; and in his papers given in to the Pope’s Delegates and to the Parliament, *to cases limited by law*, i. e. when the spiritual Head or President fails in punishing them, or that the faith of the Clerk is to be corrected. Nay, he supposes, “that when the King, God’s Vicar, justly taketh these goods of holy Church evil occupied by *Sathana’s Clerks*, he *departeth them wisely to just men, to help of poor men, and encreasing of virtuous life, both of priests, lords, and commoners.*”

Melancthon further charges Dr. Wiclif with neither understanding nor believing the righteousness of faith; or absolution from our sins through faith in the blood of Christ shed for the remission of sins. But it is certain, that no one can well say more than he does to keep men from trusting in an outward righteousness, as contributing to the building of Cathedral Churches, the curiosity of gay windows, and colours, and paintings, and babwyries; finding wax to burn before images, to the neglect of compunction of their sins, and minding of heavenly things, and

^k Decimæ prædiales non debent subtrahi, cum ad Ecclesiam pertineant, in cujus damnum factum præpositi non redundat. *De Veritate Scriptur.* MS. p. 430.

doing their alms to their poor neighbours that be bedrid, feeble, and crooked, and blind, and therewith have nought of their own. Thus he elsewhere observes, that “*as to pardons and holy water, and blessings of Bishops, it is a feigned thing—and to blind the peeples, and make them over little to dread sin; for that they trust in these false pardons, and not in God’s mercy, and their own very repentance and good life.*” As to merits, he shewed that “*it is never taught in all the Gospel that saints diden more holy merits than were nedeful for their own bliss.*” Elsewhere he observed, that “*if this faith, that no man may assoyle men of all sins that they have done, were told to Popis and to Cardynals and Prelatis under them, by the grace of God their bargeyn of assoilinge and eke of cursinge schulde bygile fewer folk that schuld hooly trist in Christ.*” And again, “*Thus may men se, that holy Chirche shold stonde stable, gif men affiede them in Christ, and stode mekely in their degree.*”

CHAP.
VIII.Great Sentence of
Curse expounded.
MS. c. 9.
Octo sunt
in quibus se-
ducuntur
simplices.
MS.
Of Prelates,
MS. c. 43.De Papa
Romana.
MS.

Besides these opinions, Dr. Wiclif maintained it as probable, that “the loosing of Satan commenced in the second millenary after Christ’s ascension, and that after this loosing of him, the Church notably swerved from following after Christ.” Of this he gives some instances: as the opinion that “grace may be bought and sold, as an ox or an ass, and as a consequence of it, making merchandize with the buying of pardons, and blotting out of sin; the error concerning the Eucharist, that it is an accident without a substance: the giving the preference to the Pope’s bulls, and neglecting the holy Scriptures.” From hence he dates the rise of the several sects of Friars, whom he calls the tail of the dragon, and compares to the locusts which came out of the bottomless pit, computing their number here in England to be 4000, and that they yearly expended of the goods of the kingdom 60,000 marks.

Dial. lib. iv.
c. 33.Ibid. lib. iii.
c. 7.Ibid. lib. iv.
c. 32. 35.

Dr. Wiclif defined the Church to be “*the congregation of just men for whom Jesu Christ shedd his blood.*” Of “*this Church,*” he says, “*Christ is the Head, he is Sa-*

Great Sentence of
Curse expounded.
MS. c. 2.

- CHAP. VIII. *“viour of the body thereof, that is, the great multitude of all worthy to be saved.”* Elsewhere he distinguishes betwixt the *veri bodi* of Christ and his *medlid or feinid bodi*. Of the former he allows only such to be members who should be saved; of the latter he owns hypocrites to be: *“The medlyd Church,”* says he, *“that is that comprehendyth chosen men to blisse, and also hypocritis that shoulen be damned.”* So again, *“holy Chirch which is the gostly body of Christ, is a net which is not yet drawn to the brynk.”*
- Of wedded Men and Wives. MS. c. 3. *“Therefore it hath evel men * medlyd with good men tyll to the dome in which these shulen be departed fro them.”*
- Prologue, c. 12. *“As parts of this * medlyd church he reckons the ¹ Clergy, secular lords, and commons. Whereas, he observes, “when men speken of holy Churche they understonden anoon Prelates and Priests, Monks, Cannons, and Freres, and all men that have ^m crowns, though they liven never so cursedly agenst God’s law, and clepen not ne holden secular men of holy Church, tho they liven never so truly after God’s law, and enden in perfect charity: but nethless all that shullen be saved in bliss of heaven ben members of holy Church, and no mo—those ben members of holy Church as ben good Christen men, that kepeth God’s hests.”* Elsewhere he thus writes of the Church; *“Christ’s Chirch,”* says he, *“is his Spouse that hath thre partes: the first part is in blisse with Christ Head of the Chirch, and conteyneth aungels and blessid men that now be in heaven: the secunde parte of the Chirche be seyntis in purgatorie: the thridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men that here lyven that schulen be after saved in hevens, and lyven her Crysten mennes lyf.”*
- Ibid. c. 14. *So in his Dialogues he thus distinguishes the Church: Triplex est Ecclesia militans, dormiens et triumphans. But*
- * mixed. As parts of this * medlyd church he reckons the ¹ Clergy, secular lords, and commons. Whereas, he observes, *“when men speken of holy Churche they understonden anoon Prelates and Priests, Monks, Cannons, and Freres, and all men that have ^m crowns, though they liven never so cursedly agenst God’s law, and clepen not ne holden secular men of holy Church, tho they liven never so truly after God’s law, and enden in perfect charity: but nethless all that shullen be saved in bliss of heaven ben members of holy Church, and no mo—those ben members of holy Church as ben good Christen men, that kepeth God’s hests.”* Elsewhere he thus writes of the Church; *“Christ’s Chirch,”* says he, *“is his Spouse that hath thre partes: the first part is in blisse with Christ Head of the Chirch, and conteyneth aungels and blessid men that now be in heaven: the secunde parte of the Chirche be seyntis in purgatorie: the thridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men that here lyven that schulen be after saved in hevens, and lyven her Crysten mennes lyf.”*
- Of the Chirch, &c. MS. *So in his Dialogues he thus distinguishes the Church: Triplex est Ecclesia militans, dormiens et triumphans. But*
- Lib. iv. c. 22. *So in his Dialogues he thus distinguishes the Church: Triplex est Ecclesia militans, dormiens et triumphans. But*

¹ Thomas White, whom Walden calls *Albus*, who wrote about A. D. 1428, reckoned three states of the Church militant, viz. the Clergy, soldiers, labourers or mechanics. *Usher de Christ. Eccl. Success.* p. 38. Sir John Oldcastle said much the same, *“that the Church mylytaunt is seuered into three dyuerse estates, that is to saye, into presthode, knyghthode, and the commons.”* *Brefe Chronycle &c. by Johan Bale.*

^m Shaven crowns.

because in the same book he distinguishes the Church militant into three parts, *viz.* the Clergy, the military arm, and the populace, he is therefore censured for want of skill in reckoning the constituent parts of the Church, in making it to consist only of Clergy, soldiers, and mechanics, or labourers; and he ingeniously observed, that by this distribution the religious, impotent people and others, are excluded. The same learned Ch. historian finds fault with Dr. Wiclif as forming the Church of none but predestinated persons; whereas he allows, that “*holy Chirche hath evil men medlyd with good.*”

CHAP.
VIII.Lib. iii. c.
17. Militari
brachio at-
que popula-
ribus.

Dr. Wiclif was a zealous maintainer of the King’s regalie, which he affirmed was well grounded in holy Writ; accordingly he styled the King God’s Vicar, and affirmed, that “*the King hath a jurisdiction and power of the per- sons of high Prelates and less Priests, and goods of holy Church. That Solomon put down one high priest, and ordained another in his place, and outlawed the first without axing help of Clerks, for traitery don to Solomon and his people: and treason agenst Christ and his law, and his people, is more then treason agenst an earthly Kinge, and more shulde be punished. That as Peter and Paul techen, lords ben ordained of God to venge misdeeds and misdoers, and to praise good deeds and good doers. Then the more that a sin is, the more * owen lords to punish it. But the sin of Clerks is more * ought. then the sin of other † lewd men, then lords owen more to † lay or ignorant. punish sin of Clerks then the sin of other men.*” For it was then pretended, to use Dr. Wiclif’s words, that “*secular men schulde noght juge of Clerks, however they have done, since thei have proper juges as Popis and Bischopis, and other juges under them.*” But to this pretence Dr. Wiclif thus replied: “*Wel I woot,*” says he, “*that men were wont by jugement of Yngland to dampne Prestis and Clerkis for robberie and thefte, and also for traiterie and other smale trespas, and gif thei nowe denye this, thei denye the regalie.*” This is sufficiently evident even from the Monkish historians. But ever since

Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded.MS. c. 11.
Of Servants
and Lords.
MS.* ought.
† lay or ig-
norant.

CHAP.
VIII.

Becket's time, the Clergy of England had been very zealous in asserting what they called the ecclesiastical liberty, or an exemption of their persons and goods from the power and authority of the civil magistrate.

Dr. Wiclif likewise opposed the making the belief of the Pope's being Head of the Church an article of faith and salvation. "*Also Prelates,*" says he, "*maken many new points of belief, and seyn that is not enough to believe in Jesu Christ, and to be cristned as Christ seith in the Gospel of Mark: but if a man believe that the Bishop of Rome be Head of holy Church. And certes the Apostles of Jesu Christ constreyned never any man to believe this of themselves, and yet they were certain of their saving in heaven. How shulde then any sinful wretch that wot never where he shall be damned or saved, constreyn men to believe that he is Head of holy Church? Certes they constreynen men sometime to believe that a Devil of hell is Head of holy Church when the Bishop of Rome shall be damned for his cursed ending in sin.*" So elsewhere he observes, "*that worldly Clerks maken blind men believe that the Pope is Head of holy Church, and the most holy Fadir that may not sin, and he destroyeth the faith of holy Church, meekness, patience, and charity, and desire of heavenly bliss. Therefore, as the true Clerkⁿ Robert Grossthead wrote to him, he is cause well and ground of destruction of Christen faith, and good religion, by making of evil shepherds, and priveledges and suffring of sin; sith he may best destroy it, and most is holden there to.*" Thus did the Doctor attack the Papal supremacy. He likewise thought, that the hierarchy established here in his time, or the government of the Church by a Pope and Cardinals, Patriarchs and Archbishops, Bishops and Archdeacons, Officials and Deans, with the other officers, was not of primitive institution, or the government of the Christian Church in the first ages of it, but distinctions which have been invented long since. "One thing," says he, "I boldly

Of Prelates.
MS. c. 14.

Great Sentence of
Curse expounded.
MS. c. 3.

Dial. lib.
iv. c. 15.

ⁿ Bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1235.

“assert, that in the primitive Church, or Paul’s time,^o two
 “Orders of the Clergy were sufficient, to wit that of Priest
 “and Deacon; I likewise say, that at that time a Presbyter
 “and a Bishop was the same.” And again; “According to
 “the Scripture, it seems to me, that Presbyters and Dea-
 “cons, keeping the station and office which Christ has laid
 “on them, are enough, because it seems certain, that Cæsa-
 “rean pride, or an affectation to be like the princes of this
 “world in state and magnificence, was the cause of these
 “degrees and orders of a Pope, Cardinals, &c. being in-
 “vented.”

Dr. Wiclif likewise opposed the authority which at that time was claimed to the Church or Clergy. “*The Devil* How Anti-tichrist, &c. travailen to destroy holy Writ. MS. c. 2.
 “*Satanas casteth by Antichrist,*” he says, “and his worldly
 “false Clerks, to destroy holy Writ, and Christen men’s
 “belief, by asserting that the Church is of more authority
 “and credence then is any Gospel. They seyn that Nico-
 “deme and many mo. writen the Gospel of Christ’s life,
 “and his teching, and the Church put them away and ap-
 “proved these four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and
 “John. Then the Church might as well have put out
 “these four and approved the other Gospellers; sith it was
 “in free will and power of the Church to reprove and
 “damnen which they wolden; and approve and accept
 “which them liked, and therefore men shulden belive more
 “to the Church then to any Gospel.” To this pretence he
 replies, “That these farcasting heretics understonden by the
 “Church the Pope of Rome, and his Cardinals, and the
 “multitude of worldly Clerks assenting to his symony and
 “worldly lordship over all Kings and Emperors of this
 “world: for else it were not to their purpose to magnify
 “the Church as they now don. That true men seyn that
 “the Clergy that first was kunning and holy of life was

• The trouthe is, that in the Newe Testamente there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders, but onely of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priestes or Byshops. Nor there is any worde spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferryng of this Sacrament; but only of prayer and the imposition of the Byshop’s handes. *The Institution of a Christen Man.* fol. 41. c. 42. a.

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VIII.

*“ stirred by the Holy Gost to take these Gospels, and
 “ chargin not Christen people with moo: sith these ben
 “ enow, and profitable at the full, and ben figured in
 “ many prophecies of God’s law: and these four witnesses
 “ were accepted of the Holy Ghost to this writing for
 “ many skills that we may [not] tell now. But certes the
 “ Church might not have put away these Gospels, and ac-
 “ cepted the other, for then it had done agenst the truth of
 “ Jesu Christ, and agenst charity of the Holy Ghost for to
 “ put away these witnesses that knew more of God’s privi-
 “ ty, and weren holier of life, and to take witnesses not so
 “ kunning of God’s doom, ne so holy of life, ne so meke, ne
 “ so stable in faith and love of Jesu Christ.” So elsewhere
 Of Prelates. he tells us, “that our Prelates magnifie themselves aboven
 MS. c. 15. “ Jesu Christ God and man: for Jesu Christ commanded
 “ and taught openly, that men shulde not geve credence to
 “ him, but if he did the works of the Fadir of heaven: but
 “ our Prelates chalengen that we geve credence to [them]
 “ where they don well or evil. Also Christ seith to the
 * judge. “ Jews of himself that they shullen * deem a righteous
 “ doom, and not after the face: and in his passion time
 “ Christ bad a sinful harlot and cursed to bear witnesse of
 “ evil in cas if Christ had said evil: but our Prelates that
 “ don evil both in dede, speche and thought, crien kenely
 “ that sujets shullen not deme them though they don
 “ openly agenst charity. Also Paul biddeth that his
 “ sujets demen that thing that he seith after that he was
 “ ravished into the third heaven; but our Prelates wolen
 “ not that we deem their seying, though it be contrary to
 “ God’s law openly.”*

Hom. on
 Gal. iv. MS.

*He observed, that “ the Chirche that wandreth here is
 “ maad thral by mannes lawe, sith mo ben sproungen bi
 “ Antichrist than were in the oolde lawe, that ben now left,
 “ as God biddith. And so the Chirche is now thral more
 “ than in time of the oolde lawe, since mannes lawis ben
 “ worse than weren Goddis lawis that now ben left. And
 “ Antichrist is maad a tutour or a governour of the Chirche
 “ more fool than the children that schulden be governed by*

“ *Goddis lawe. And of alle synnes that now ben this is*
 “ *moost perilous and grevous that * leesith the fredom that*
 “ *Christ hath purchased, and makith men thral to synne* * *destroieth.*
 “ *and to fend. And thus it were a moche vertu to gette*
 “ *agen our former freedom, and trowe no Prelate in this*
 “ *Chirche, but if he grounde him in Goddis lawe. And thus*
 “ *men schulde schake awei al the lawe that the Pope hath*
 “ *maad, and alle rulis of these neue Ordris but in as moche*
 “ *as thei ben groundid in the lawe that God hath geven.”*

In another tract he says, “ *Most men wondren why worldly* Great Sen-
 “ *Clerks cursen so fast for breaking of their own statutes,* tence of
 “ *priviledges, and weiward customs, more than for open* Curse ex-
 “ *breaking of God’s commandments; sith no man is cursed* pounded.
 “ *of God only for breaking of his hests, whatever worldly* MS. c. 29.
 “ *wretches blaberen.”* And elsewhere he styles such “ *ex-*
 “ *communications feyned censures inflicted by Antichrist’s*
 “ *jurisdiction.”*

He affirms again and again, that “ *Prelates and Priests* Of Prelates.
 “ *ordeyned of God comen in the stead of Apostles and Dis-* MS. c. 1,
 “ *ciples; and that Christ ordained priesthood.”* 2, 3.
 Object. of
 Freres. MS.
 c. 12.

He acknowledged Orders to be one of “ *the seven Sa-*
 “ *craments of holy Church,*” and thus defined them. “ *Or-* Great Sen-
 “ *der is a power given to a Clerk of God by the ministry* tence of
 “ *of the Bishop, to minister duly to the Church, which Or-* Curse ex-
 “ *der is commonly given at a holy time with solemn fast-* pounded.
 “ *ing, masses, and other rites, to solemnize that Episcopal* MS. c. 6.
 “ *ministry to the Church.”* But he blamed the extorting Dial. lib. iv.
 money of those who came to any holy Order, for *P*barber, c. 15.
 fees, and great ransoms for letters; “ *the taking for writ-* Great Sen-
 “ *ing and sealing of a little ^a scrowe with six or seven lines* tence of
 “ *twelve pence or two shillings:”* and added, “ *that if it* Curse ex-
 “ *were need they mighten be shaven at a common barber,* pounded.
 “ *and clippen all a year for the money that their barbour* MS. c. 6.
 “ *taketh at once.”* This he said was “ *certainly foul ex-*
 “ *tortion.”* By the Synod of Worcester, held 1240, it was
 decreed, that neither Archdeacons nor their officers, *viz.*

^p To shave the crowns of those who were ordained.

^a Letters of Orders.

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VIII.

Officials or Rural Deans, should presume to receive or extort any thing for the inductions of Clerks; and by a provincial Synod held at London by John Stretford, Archbishop of Canterbury, it was observed, that a new and insatiable avarice had invented frequent and immense exactions for letters testimonials given to Clerks admitted to ecclesiastical benefices, and for letters of Orders, for the labour of writing and for seals, in direct opposition to the Canon, which says, that as it is not decent for a Bishop to sell the laying on of his hands, so it becomes not his officer or notary to sell his pen. To remedy this abuse therefore, this council ordained, that for writing letters of Institution and Orders, or of Commissions of Induction and certificates of the same, the Clerks should not take above sixpence; and that the other Ordinaries should appoint their officers stipends for sealing the said letters, &c. with which they should be deservedly contented: that by the marshals for admittance, the porters, doorkeepers, and barbers of the Bishops, nothing at all should be exacted *a clericis junioribus vel majoribus ordinibus decoratis*, lest, on such pretence, the fees for sealing letters of Orders, &c. and for Induction, &c. be converted into a damnable gain.

Dr. Wiclif likewise asserted, that “*sending of these worldly Prelates is not enough, without sending of God, as St. Paul meneth.*” Elsewhere he observes, it was commonly said, that “a Clerk is not ordained but when a Bishop gives him the Holy Ghost, and imprints a character on his mind which is indelible; because if a Clerk be degraded, or let what will happen unto him, the character remains inseparable.” But the Doctor notes, that “there were very different opinions about the quiddity of this character, its nature, or what it is; and prays, that God would give the Clergy another grace, since that of the character was of no use to many men both good and bad.”

Dialog. lib.
iv. c. 15.

Of Prelates.
c. 6. He likewise blamed the Prelates of his time for “*holding the halwing of dead stones or dead earth, and other ornaments of the Church; as vestments, cloths, chalis,*

“and oil and crem more worthy than the halwing and
 “blessing of the Sacrament of the Auter that is very
 “Christ’s flesh and his blood.—For,” says he, “they
 “holden to themselves halwing of auter stones, churches, and
 “church-yards, and other cloths of Church as more worthy
 “and precious, and suffren poor priests be they never so un-
 “kunning and vicious against God, so that they speken not
 “agenst the sin of Prelates, to make the Sacrament of the
 “Auter each day, as if that were less worthy and less pre-
 “cious.” So elsewhere he observes, that “why that poor
 “priests and lewd men in time of need may lawfully bap-
 “tize children, and not confirm them, is great wonder
 “among men of reason.—therefore to magnifie their
 “state in pride, and charging of Cristen men, they re-
 “serven this new confirming [blessing a young child with
 “a rag and oil] to themselves, and putten the more tra-
 “veile, and more worthy and needful Sacraments on poor
 “priests; and that in this they shewen their vanity and
 “worldly dignity.” In the same place he finds fault with
 the practice of taking money for the administration of the
 Sacraments. He laments, for instance, that the Sacrament
 of Matrimony was bought and sold. “No man,” says he,
 “shall be weddid, but if he pay 6d. on the book, and have
 “a ring for his wife, and sometime a peny for the Clerke,
 “and covenant making what he shall pay for a morrow
 “masse, and else he shal not be weddid.” The same he
 observed of the Sacraments of Baptism and Extreme Unc-
 tion: “The same error,” says he, “regneth of the Sacra-
 “ment of Christendome, and of the last anointing, and
 “sometime in burying. For many covetous priests axen
 “greedily mony for these doings, or else they shullen not
 “be cristned, ne ointed, ne buried withouten mortuary.”
 He added, that “of confirmation of children, crowning of
 “benets runneth the same extortion in some placis.”

Great Sen-
 tence of
 Curse ex-
 pounded.
 MS. c. 6.

r Vetant Canones non solum antiqui sed et recentiores quoque ne pro mini-
 strandis Sacramentis pretium exigatur.—Nec eos minus detestantur qui pro
 sepeliendis in templo vel cœmeterio cadaveribus aut exequiis pecuniam efflagi-
 tant. Duaren. de Benefic. lib. vii. c. 6.

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He further complains, that "*priests were forbidden either [to say mass or preach the Gospel] in a Bishop's diocese, unless they have leave of that Bishop, and that they shall pay commonly for that leave much money, or else swear that they shall not speak against great sins of Bishops and other priests.*"

Octo in quibus seducuntur. MS. Trial. lib. iii. cap. 5.

He affirmed that "*these terms, venyal and deadly, benfounden of new men, withouten auctority of holy Writt;*" and said, that only the sin of final impenitence, which he called the sin against the Holy Ghost, is properly *mortal*; and that every other sin, since it was capable of pardon, might reasonably be said to be *venial*.

Prologue, c. 10.

His opinion of oaths he thus expresses: "*Lordis and Prelates exciten strongly men to do idolatrye, for they sweren customabli, needlessly, and oft unavisely and false, bi the membres of God, by Chryst and by sayntis, insomuch that eche Lorde and Prelate comynly maketh to hyme an idole of some seynt, whom he worshipith more then God. For comenly they sweren by our Lady of Walsingham, Seinte John Baptist, Seynt Edward, Seynt Thomas of Canterbury, and such other seintis, and chargen more this ooth then tho they sweren by the Holie Trinitie. And in al thys they honouren more these seints than they honouren the Holy Trinity. Though it were leful to swere by seyntis, this is idolatrye to charge more an othe made by such seyntis, than by God Almighty, either by the Holy Trinity.—To swere by any creature is to do idolatries.—To swere by a creature is agens God's commandment: and therefore Christ in the fifth chapter of Mathewe commaundyth to not swere bi heaven, neither bi earth, and understondith by heaven and earth, creatures of heaven, and creatures of earth. And in al the olde Lawe it is not founden where God grantyth to swere by any creature, but only bi hys owne name, or bi himself.—To absteyne fro this needlesse and leful, and to eschewe pryde and speake honour of God, and his lawe, and reprove synne by way of charity; is matter and cause nowe, why Pre-*

*“ latis and some Lords slaunderen men, and clepen hem
 “ Lowlardis, heretiks, reisars of debate, and of treason
 “ agens the King.”*

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VIII.

Dr. Wiclif owned the *“ bitter pains of purgatory,”* and affirmed, that *“ seying of mass with clenness of holy life,
 “ and brenning devotion full much, and neet honds, most
 “ pleaseth God Almighty, and profiteth to Christen souls
 “ in purgatory.”* But in his tract of *“ The Chirche of
 “ Christ and of hir Membris, &c.”* he thus writes, *“ These,
 “ the seyntis in purgatorie, synen not of newe, but purge
 “ their oold synnes; and mani errours fallen in prayinge
 “ for these seyntis, and sith thei alle ben dede in bodie
 “ Crist’s wordis mai be taken of hem, sue we Crist in our
 “ lyf, and late the dede burie the deede.”*

On the Pa-
ter noster.
MS.

Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
pounded,
MS. c. 7.

He opposed the notion, that *“ the singing of special
 “ prayers by Clerks, as famulory and benefactory shall
 “ turne to men after their granting and limiting. Thus,”* he says, *“ the rightful deling of God for the good life of
 “ men is forgotten, and deling of sinful fools that knowen
 “ not the ableness of men, and rightful doom of God is
 “ holden forth: and thereby mighty men ben brought out
 “ of believe to trust more in special praying and applying
 “ of sinful men, than in the rightful parting of God, and
 “ righteousness of their own life, and by trust of such spe-
 “ cial prayers lords understonden that they shulden be ex-
 “ cused though they don evil.”* He therefore affirms, that *“ Priests or Religious that ben out of charity, and liven
 “ agenst God’s commandments, as in glotony, drunkenness,
 “ and enmity, and pride, stirren God by their vain pray-
 “ ing to vengeance rather than mercy.—that whoever
 “ liveth best, prayeth best; that a simple Pater noster of a
 “ plowman that is in charity is better than a thousand
 “ masses of covetous Prelates, and vain Religious full of
 “ covetisse, and pride, false flattering and nourishing of
 “ sin. That prayer standeth principally in good life and
 “ holy desire to do God’s will—and in word also.”*

Ibid. c. 30.

How Sata-
nas and his
Priests cast-
en by three
cursed He-
resies, &c.
MS. c. 4.

He likewise opposed the introducing the New Song, *Of Prelates.*
MS. c. 11.

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which, he says, they "*clepen* ^s *God's service,*" and which he describes by "*deschaunt, cowntre note, and organ.* By "*these,*" says he, "*the Priests are letted fro studying and preaching of the Gospel.*" So again he observes, that "*Mattins, and Mass, and Evensong, Placebo and Dirige, and Commendation, and Mattins of our Lady were ordained of sinful men to be sung with high crying to lett men fro the sentence and understanding of that that was thus sung, and to maken men weary and undisposed to study God's Law. For a king of heds, and of short time then more vain japes founden deschant, cowntre note, and organs, and small breking that stirreth vain men to dauncing more than mourning. And therefore ben many proud and lecherous lorels founden and dowed with temporal and worldly lordships and great cost. But these fools shulden dread the sharp words of Austin, that seith, As oft as the song liketh me more than doth the sentence that is sung, so oft I confess that I sin grievously. And if these knackers excusen them by song in the old law, seye that Christ that best kept the olde lawe as it shulde be afterward, taught not ne charged us with such bodily song, ne any of his Apostles, but with devotion in heart, and holy life and true preching, and that is enough and the best. But who shuld then charge us with more oure freedom and lightness of Christ's Law? And if they seyn that angels hearen God by song in heaven; seye that we kunnen not that song, but they ben in full victory of their enemies, and we ben in perilous battle; and in the vally of weeping and mourning, and our song letteth us fro better occupation, and stirreth us to many great sins, and to forget us selves: but our fleshly people hath more liking in their bodily ears in such knocking and tattering than in hearing of God's*"

* This New Song was introduced by Guido Aretinus, a Benedictine Monk, in the eleventh century; and about 1227 the same artificial chaunting was brought into the Church of Scotland by Simon Taylor, a Dominican Friar; at which time St. Ælred wrote against it, and very much exposed it. *Dr. Monro's Lives of the Scotch Writers*, vol. i. p. 196.

“ law, and speaking of the blissh of heaven. For they wolen
 “ hire proud Priests and other lecherous loreles thus to knack
 “ notes for many marks and pounds: but they wolen not geve
 “ their alms to Priestes and children to lerne and teche God’s
 “ law. And thus by this novelrie of song is God’s law unstu-
 “ died, and not kept, and pride and other great sins meyn-
 “ ten’d, and these fonnyd lords and people gessen to have
 “ more thank of God, and worshipen him more in holding up
 “ of their own novelries with great cost than in learning and
 “ teching and meyntening of his law, and his servants, and
 “ his ordinance. But where is more deceit in faith, hope, and
 “ charity? For when there ben fourty or fifty in a queer, three
 “ or four proud and lecherous lorels shullen knack the most
 “ devout service that no man shall ^thear the sentence, and
 “ all other shullen be dumb, and looken on them as fools.
 “ And then strumpets and thieves praisen sire Jack, or Hobb
 “ and William the proud Clerk, how small they knacken their
 “ notes, and seyn that they serven well God and holy Church,
 “ when they despisen God in his face, and letten other Chris-
 “ ten men of their devotion and compunction, and stirren
 “ them to worldly vanity; and thus true service of God is
 “ letted, and this vain knocking for our jollity and pride is
 “ praised above the moon.”

He blamed “ some Priests for unwisely taking a vow of
 “ chastity, and defouling wives, widows, and maidens;” and
 observes, that “ sith fornication is so perilous, and men and
 “ women ben so frail, God ordained Priests in the old law
 “ to have wives, and never forbid it in the new law, neither
 “ by Christ, ne by his Apostles, but rather approved it. But
 “ now by hypocrisie of fends, and false men, many binden
 “ them to Priesthood and chastity, and forsaken wives by
 “ God’s law, and * shenden maidens, and wives, and fallen

Order of
 Priesthood.
 MS. c. 9.

Of wedded
 Men and
 Wives, &c.
 MS.

* hurt,
 wrong.

^t Vibratam illam et operosam musicam, quæ figurata dicitur, auferri placet, quæ sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur, ut sæpe linguam non possit ipsam loquentem intelligere. *Reformat. Legum, de Div. Offic. c. 5.*

Non aliunde venit, quod in pagis et nonnullis etiam oppidis videmus tantam hominum ruditatem, tantam inscitiam rei Christianæ, quam quod vocum et organorum strepitus frequenter audiant, sermonem evangelicum aut nunquam audiant aut perquam raro. *Erasm. Epist. lib. xxix. ep. 64.*

CHAP. VIII. *"foulest of all. For many ben Priests and Religious in
doing, and other for to have lustful life and easy, young
and strong of complexion and faren well of meat and
drink, and wolen not traveile neither in penance, ne study
of God's law, ne teching, ne labour with their honds, and
therefore they fallen into lechery in divers degrees, and in
sin agenst kind."*

Ibid. For the same reason he lamented that *"many gentle-
men's sons and daughters ben made Religious agenst their
wills when they ben children withouten discretion, for to
have the heritage wholly to a child that is most loved: and
when they come to age, what for dread of their friends,
what for dread of poverty in cas that they gen out, and
for hypocrisy, and flattering and fair *behests of these
Religious, and for dread of taking their body to prison,
they daren not shew their heart, ne leaven this state, though
they knowen themselves unable thereto, and thereof cometh
lecherie, and sometime murthuring of men."* Hence he

Trial. fol. 71. says, that *"such private houses which provoke God by a coun-
terfeit holiness, are commonly the nest of the Devil. Neth-
less,"* he says, *"though matrimony be good, and greatly
commended of God, yet clene virginity is myche better, and
Prestis that kepe clene chastite in bodye and soule don best."*

Of wedded Men and Wives. MS. He or his followers complained of the *"lawyers of the
Articles xxxvii. MS. Consistorie either Chapitris, that they tarien men in her
Courtis, youg ye rigt be never so pleyne; yat men ben ful of
yer painful life so thei ben hurled abougte. For gif a trewe
man be falsly sclaundrid and come among yem, it is ligter
to make a fyn for myche money then to purge hym be it
never so openly knowen. For ellys he schal be hurlid fro
cuntrie to cuntrie, fro daie to day, that he schal be contu-
max and cursid, and yen stond at her wille, or ellys for
traveyle and cost be ful of his lif. And youg a man be
never so cursid, gif he wol paie an anuel rent to yees law-
iers, and to the cursid court, or to Biscopis almes, he schal
bathe himself in his sinne as long as he wol yus paie. And
gif there be any good Bischop that wol chase ye fendis of
lecherie or usurie, and siche moo: anoon covetous lawyers*

“ *with her snatchis and japis, as delaies, excusations, and*
 “ *false appellis letten the Bischop to punisch this synne. And*
 “ *cursidnesse of this sinne regneth forth by a yeere, hanging*
 “ *ye appeel in hier courte, and sumtime as long as yis cursid*
 “ *man liveth. And also when a trew Preest wolde by good*
 “ *conscience, and by forme of the Gospel distrie synne, yen*
 “ *lawiers maken processe by sotilte and cavillations of lawe*
 “ *civill yat is myche hethen mennes lawe, and not accepten*
 “ *the forme of ye Gospel, as gif the Gospel were not so good*
 “ *as paynims lawe, and yus yei seien yat ye Gospel is not*
 “ *ynoug to reule holy Chirche by, but symple mennes lawes*
 “ *full of errour ben more nedeful yen ye Gospel yerto.*”

By a Sacrament Dr. Wiclif tells us he means “ *a tokyn* Codd. Ric. James in Bibl. Bodl.
 “ *that may be seen of a thing that may not be seen with any*
 “ *bodili eye.*” Of such Sacraments he reckons seven, but
 he does not allow them all to be generally necessary to
 salvation. For thus he says of Confirmation; “ *Non tamen* Dialog. lib. iv. c. 14.
 “ *video quod generaliter sit hoc sacramentum de necessi-*
 “ *tate salutis fidelium.*”

Of Baptism he declared his opinion that it is necessary Ibid. lib. iv. c. 11.
 to salvation: which he founds on that saying of Christ’s
 to Nicodemus, John iii. 5. *Except a man be born of water,*
 &c. But he said “ it was no matter whether the persons
 “ baptized were dipped three times, or had only water
 “ poured on their heads.” He likewise observes, that “ it Ibid. lib. iv. c. 12.
 “ is probable that Christ can without this washing spi-
 “ ritually baptize infants, and by consequence save them;”
 but then he cautions against “ neglecting the Baptism
 “ with water, on supposition that we are baptized with the
 “ Spirit.” In his Dialogues he introduces Alithia, one of Lib. iv. c. 11.
 the speakers, stating the case of an ^u infant dying unbap-
 tized after it had been brought to the church, that it might
 be baptized according to the rule of Christ, and there being

^u Delato infante fidelium ad ecclesiam, ut secundum Christi regulam baptisetur, et deficiente aqua vel requisitis aliis, stante pia intentione totius populi interim mortuo naturaliter nutu Dei, videtur grave damnationem infantis hujusmodi diffinire, spetialiter cum nec infans iste nec populus peccavit ut taliter damnaretur.

CHAP.
VIII.Dialog. lib.
iv. c. 12.Danvers,
&c.Of the Se-
ven Sacra-
ments. MS.
inter codd.
Richardi
James. 3.

* Sic MS.

no water or other requisites: to this Dr. Wiclif replies in the person of Phronesis, "God, if he pleases, may damn such an infant without doing it any injury; and if he pleases, he may save it. Nor dare I to determine on either side, nor do I labour about the reputation or evidence to be acquired in that matter; but like one dumb I am silent, humbly confessing my own ignorance, by using conditional words, because it is not yet clear to me whether such an infant shall be saved or damned by God. But I know that whatsoever God shall do in that matter, it will be just, and a work of mercy to be praised by all the faithful." However we have here a proof, that so far was Dr. Wiclif from countenancing the singularities of the Anabaptists, as some of that sect have boasted, that he thought the baptism of the infants of the faithful was according to the rule of Christ; and made it a mark of folly and presumption to affirm, that infants unbaptized are excluded the kingdom of heaven. On the contrary, he made it a mark of folly and presumption for any *ex auctoritate sua sive scientia* to define any thing in that matter. He elsewhere thus expresses himself concerning the *minister* of the Sacraments: "*We ben taugt,*" says he, "*that no man hath power to ministre them to the puple, but if he be a Preest, saaf in time of ned. For in time of nede a woman may cristen a child with full will to cristen it, and with these words perfitly seyde: N. I cristen the in the name of the Fadir, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Gost, so be it. * Zhe also here a mannes schrifte or a womans in tyme of nede. But nethles, frendis, God forbede that any man take uppon him any more then he schulde after the ordinaunce of God.*" He further cautions men against "*seching God's worschip to litel and their own too miche:*" and observes, "*that Preestis moun minister to the people the tokens of siche Sacrementis; but the spirituall grace withine that we se not, is ministred to us of God that is Preest and Bischop of our soules. For if there weren men that wolden be turnid to the feith, and be maad Christen, a Preest may well telle them the articles of bileve, and*

“counseile them to be christned, and aftir christen them in
 “watir; but God that giveth them grace to bileve in him, he
 “christneth ther souls, that is to sey waschith their soules
 “fro the uncleannesse of all manner of sinnes, and therefore
 “ben children, and sumtimes men and wymmen cristened in
 “water.” This by the way shews how far he was from Collier’s
 denying the necessity of Baptism, and understanding Eccl. Hist.
 Christ’s words, John iii. not of material water, but of the vol. i. p. 585.
 water which flowed from our Saviour’s side. c. 1.

“Also,” says he, “in the Sacrement of Confirmation we
 “schullen understond that thoug the Bischop make a cros
 “with holy oyle with his thumbe on a childe’s forhede, or on a
 “manne’s, the childe or the man reseiveth not the giftis of the
 “Holy Goste of the Bischope, but of the gifte of God.”
 Elsewhere he shews that “the oil with which they anoint Dialog. lib.
 “children at this time, and the linen hood or vail put over iv. c. 14.
 “their heads, are a ceremony of little importance, and
 “which has no foundation in Scripture:” and concludes
 that “he does not see that this Sacrament is reserved to
 “*x* imperial or * Cæsarean Prelates; that it would be more * Episcopis
 “religious, and more conformable to the way of speaking Cæsareis.
 “in the Scripture, to deny that the Bishops give the Holy
 “Spirit, or confirm the giving of it: and that it seems to
 “some that the trifling and short Confirmation of the
 “Bishops, at that time used, with the ceremonies added
 “to it for the sake of pomp, was therefore introduced by
 “the motion of the Devil, that the people may be mocked
 “as to the faith of the Church, and the state or necessity
 “of Bishops be more believed.”

His opinion of the sacerdotal power of absolution, as it Of Prelates.
 was taught in his time, he thus expresses: “*Worldly Pre-* MS. c. 43.
 “lates blasphemers agenst God the Fadir of heaven, for they
 “taken upon them power that is specially and only reserved
 “to God, that is, assoiling of sins, and full remission of
 “them. For they taken on them principal assoiling of
 “sins, and maken the people to believe so, when they have

* Bishops who affected to live like Cæsar or the Emperor, and to maintain
 the same state and grandeur.

CHAP.
VIII.* Messen-
gers.

† sure.

‡ regard.

Of the Seven
Sacraments.
MS.

“only assoiling as Vicars or * Massagers to witness to the
 “people that God assoileth for contrition; and else neither
 “angel ne man, ne God himself assoileth, but if the sinner be
 “contrite, that is, fully have sorrow for his sins, and have
 “will rather to suffer loss of cattle, and worldly friendship,
 “and house, and bodily death, than to do wittingly agenst
 “God’s commandment and will. And they chargen more
 “their own assoiling, than assoiling of God. For if a man
 “come to their Schrift and Sacraments, they assoilen him,
 “and maken him † siker, though the man lie upon himself,
 “and be not assoiled of God. And though a man be never
 “so assoiled of God for his entire sorrow for sin, and charity
 “that he hath now to God, they seyn he is damnable,
 “but if he be assoiled of them, if he have space thereto,
 “though they ben cursed heretics and enemies of Christ and
 “his people. And thus they taken little ‡ reward to God
 “when he seith, In whatever time a sinful man hath entire
 “sorrow for his sins, he shall be safe. These Prelates
 “shulden preach this contrition and mercy of God, and
 “joies of heaven, and the peril of schrifte withouten repent-
 “ance, and foulness of sins, and great pains of hell, and
 “righteousness of God to make the people to flee sin, and
 “kepe truly God’s commandments, and not deceyven them
 “by their own power of assoyling, ne by false pardon, ne
 “false prayers, and other novelries besides God’s law.”

Elsewhere he observes, that “in schrifte though we telle
 “our sinnes to a Preest, and he put on us penance, we are
 “also assoiled never the rather but if God, that is the Preeste
 “of soules, se, that we sorow with all our hertes for our sinnes,
 “and that we be in ful purpose and will to leve them ever-
 “more aftir.”

Of indulgences he thus writes: “Prelates,” says he,
 “disceyven foul Christen men by feyned indulgencies or
 “pardons, and robben them cursedly of their money. For
 “they techen men that for stations of Rome, and for gaining
 “of alms after sinful men’s will, they shulden have y thou-

⁊ Quicumque orationem sequentem devote direxit, promerebitur 11,000 an-
 norum indulgentiarum. Et per tot dies videbit beatam Virginem ante diem

“ sands of years of pardon, and also pardons withouten num-
 “ ber to man’s understanding. And this pardon is forgiveness
 “ or remission of sins when men ben verily contrite for all
 “ their sins, by vertue of Christ’s passion and martyrdome,
 “ and holy merits of saints that they diden more than was
 “ needful for their own bliss. But this is taught never in all
 “ the Gospell, and never used it neither Peter, ne Paul, ne
 “ any other Apostle of Christ. And yet they mighten, coulden,
 “ and weren in most charity to teche and use this pardon, if
 “ there had ben any such. For in Christ was all manner of
 “ good lore, and good life and charity, and most after in his
 “ Apostles. And sith Christ found and taught all that is
 “ needfull and profitable, and he taught not this pardon, then
 “ this pardon nys neither nedeful ne profitable. Also all men
 “ that ben in charity, ben partners of Christ’s passion, and of
 “ all good dedes fro the beginning of the world till the last end
 “ thereof by the most rightful deling of Jesu Christ, as much
 “ as it is rightful: and more shall no man have for no grant
 “ of any creature of God, than for this Pope’s grant or Bi-
 “ shops never the more of pardon. Then ben men great fools
 “ that bien these Bulls of pardon so dere, and maken them
 “ more busy to gotten them, than to keep the hests of God,
 “ and to geve their alms to the most poor and nedy neigh-
 “ bours. For it semeth that they ben out of faith, hope, and
 “ charity: for they trusten to have mo thank to do their alms
 “ after sinful men’s will and teching, yea to rich houses or
 “ rich men that have no nede, than to do their alms after
 “ Christ’s teching and to most nedy men. Also if the day of
 “ doom comen before these thousand years of pardon comen
 “ out, then these pardons ben false, for after the doom shall
 “ be no purgatory. But no man wot how soon the doom
 “ shall come. Nethless the Pope and his officers in these in-
 “ dulgencies presume to ben even with God in knowing cer-
 “ tainly the coming of the doom, and in departing of merits
 “ to whom that them liketh. But both these ben empropred
 “ to God, and then it is blasphemy for any creature to take

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VIII.

“ this to him as doth the Pope with his meyne. Also it sem-
 “ eth that the Pope and his ben out of charity if there dwell
 “ any soul in purgatory. For he may with full heart, with-
 “ outen any other cost, deliver him out of purgatory, and
 “ they ben able to receive such help sith they ben in grace:
 “ then if he deliver hem not out of purgatory, him lacketh
 “ charity. And if he have not power to deliver all, then is
 “ he out of charity, and deceiver of man’s soul; sith he tech-
 “ eth that his gostly tresour is endlesse in eche, and is never
 “ the less though he parted it generally among all. Also it
 “ passeth man’s knowing what is God’s doom to such souls,
 “ then it seemeth a great pride for a sinful man to make him
 “ certain and master of God’s doom that he knoweth not.
 “ Also these pardons gon not for charity, but for worldly
 “ drit, as it seemeth: for if pardon shulde be granted, it
 “ shulde be granted for to make peace and charity, and not
 “ for to make dissention and warrs, and Christen man to slen
 “ his brother; and for to stirr men to keep God’s hests, and
 “ not to do after singular will or worldly profit of sinfull
 “ men that seken their own worship or worldly winning more
 “ than saving of Christen souls; and for to say the Pater
 “ noster that Christ made himself; and not for singular
 “ prayers made of us selves for love of an earthly king. But
 “ in all this is the contrary don as men seyn in dede; where-
 “ fore it is all out of charity, and then it is nought worth.
 “ Also if this pardon be an heavenly gift and gostly, it
 “ should be given freely as Christ techeth in the Gospel,
 “ and not for money, ne worldly goods, ne fleshly favour.
 “ But if a rich man wole bie dere the Bull, he shall have a
 “ Bull of pardon with thousand yeres though he be cursed of
 “ God for his sinful life; and a poor bedrid man that hath
 “ no money, and may not traveile to Rome, or to such an-
 “ other place, he shall have no pardon of the Pope, though
 “ he be holy and full of charity. Then sith this pardon
 “ should be freely geven, if there any such be, it is theft, rob-
 “ berie, to take thus much gold therefore. But these hypo-
 “ crites seyn that they taken nothing for pardon, but for the
 “ Bull that is seled. Certes a little dede lead costeth many

“ thousand pounds by yeer to our poor lond. Siker they dis-
 “ ceyven the people and japen them; for they sillen a fat
 “ goose for little or nought, but the garlick costeth many
 “ shillings. Also, this feyned pardon disceyveth many men:
 “ for rich men trusten to flee to heaven thereby withouten
 “ pain, and therefore dreaden the sin the less; and of very
 “ contrition, and leaving of sin, and of doing alms to most
 “ needy men is little spoken of. For if it were sothly telde
 “ this pardon shoulde be set at nought. Great falsness is
 “ this to magnifie the Pope’s power so mychel in purgatorie,
 “ that no man here can teche by holy Writt ne reson. Sith
 “ we seen in this world that a little harlot despiseth the Pope
 “ and stroieth his Lordship, and yett he doth all his might,
 “ all his witt, and all his will to be venged upon such a poor
 “ harlot. Then it seemeth for many skills that this feyned
 “ pardon is a sotil merchandize of Antichrist’s clerks to mag-
 “ nifien their feyned power, and to gotten worldly goods, and
 “ to make men drede not sin, but sikerly to wallow therein as
 “ hoggs.”

As to confession, Dr. Wiclif taught that “ confession
 “ made to true Priests, and witty in God’s law, doth much
 “ good to sinful men, so that contrition for sins before don
 “ come therewith, and good life, and keeping God’s hests,
 “ and works of mercy done to poor men sue after.” He else-
 where “ desires men not to believe, that because the Priest
 “ prays for the sick person, the prayer of his faith will save
 “ him that is sick:” and concludes, that “ in the Sacra-
 “ ment of Baptism and Confirmation, and all the rest of
 “ the Sacraments, Antichrist has invented ceremonies that
 “ have no foundation in Scripture.”

Great Sen-
 tence of
 Curse ex-
 pounded.
 MS. c. 6.

Dialog. lib.
 iv. c. 25.

So he styles matrimony. “ This bodily matrimony,”
 says he, “ is Sacrament and figure of the gostly wedlock be-
 “ tween Christ and holy Church, as St. Paul seith. Also,
 “ this wedlock is nedeful to save mankind by generation to
 “ the day of dome, and to restore and ^zfulfill the number of

Of wedded
 Men and
 Wives. MS.
 c. 1.

^z It seemed to Dr. Wiclif probable that so many men should be saved, as
 there were angels that fell, and men created whilst the state of innocence con-
 tinued. *Dialog.* fol. 92.

CHAP.
VIII.Lib. iv. c.
22.See Erasmi
Christiani
Matr. Inst.
fol. 29.

“angels damned for pride, and the number of saints in
“heaven, and to save men and women fro fornication.” In
his Dialogues he observes, that “since the words of the
“mind are of more weight than those of the mouth, and
“that to a *true matrimony* consent is required, it seems
“as if *that* was not matrimony which is only made by
“words *de præsenti*: and that *they* determine contrary to
“the judgment of the law of God who give it for a mar-
“riage from the bare words, *I do take thee for a wife.*”
But this seems to me to be mere trifling for the sake of
contradiction, as is what follows, that “*Veritas quidem*
“*illi videtur, quod, assistente consensu conjugii, et do-*
“*mino approbante, subducto quocunque sensibili signo,*
“*foret satis, ideo lex conscientiæ et consensus domini in*
“*bene viventibus in contractu hujusmodi rectissime regu-*
“*larent.*” Though by this he seems not to have meant
that there should be no sensible signs used in matrimony,
since he allowed it to be a Sacrament, but only that, as he
here expresses himself, “*ad verum matrimonium requiritur*
“*consensus,*” or, that though there be the outward act or
solemnity of marriage, yet it is not a true marriage if there
be not likewise the inward consent. And that therefore
the judges who gave it for a marriage from the bare words
of contract, judged contrary to the judgment of the law of
God. But if this was his meaning, he was certainly too
nice, and did not consider, that if judges judge at all, they
must judge according to overt acts, since *they* cannot know
the inward intention.

Trial. lib. iv.
c. 20.Of Wedloc.
MS. inter
codd. Ri-
chardi
James. 3.

* beware.

He likewise thought it probable “*quod tales qui non*
“*possunt procreare carnaliter quodammodo illicite copu-*
“*lantur:*” and that “*no contract schulde be maad betwixt a*
“*yong man and an old baren widowe for love of worldly muk:*
“*—for thence cometh soon debate, and avoutrie, and ene-*
“*mitie, and waaste of godes, and sorwe ond care ynowg.*”
He likewise advises, that “*ech man *war that he procure*
“*no false divorce for money, ne frenship, ne enemyte (for*
“*Christ biddeth that no man departe or twayne that*
“*God hath ordeined.) But only for avoutrie that part*

“that kepith him clene may be departed fro ye t’other’s bed,
 “and for noon other cause.—And yif the clene part mot live
 “ever chaste the while the tother liveth, or ellys be reconseiled
 “agen.—Netheless the clene may dwelle forthe with the to-
 “ther that forfeiteth, by way of charite, and men supposen
 “that that way is grete charite, gif there be evidence that
 “the tother wold do wel aftirward.” Elsewhere he ob-
 serves, that “he is no ways pleased with the multitude of
 “the causes of divorce, since many of them are of human
 “appointment without any foundation, as appears parti-
 “cularly by what has been decreed in cases of nearness of
 “blood: and declares that he will keep himself within the
 “bounds of what the Scripture teaches.” He here adds
 what has given very great offence, *viz.* “Tempore primi
 “hominis fratres et sorores fuerunt ex ordinatione divina
 “taliter conjugati; et tempore patriarcharum, ut Abra-
 “ham, Isaac, et talium satis propinque cognati. Nec
 “superest ratio quare non sic liceret hodie, nisi humana
 “ordinatio quæ dicit non solum ex *cognitione*, sed ex af-
 “finitate amorem inter homines dilatari: et causa hæc
 “hominum est nimis debilis.” By this it should seem as
 if he thought, contrary to the generality of Christians, that
 the several prohibitions of degrees of marriage, Levit. xviii.
 were merely Levitical, and only obliging to the Jews, and
 not of natural right, and obligatory to Christians.

Dialog. lib.
iv. c. 20, 21.
Erasmi
Christiani
Matrimon.
Institutio.

Gerhardi
Loci com-
munes.

Heresy he defined to be “*errour meynthened agenst holy*
 “*Writt, and that in life and conversation, as well as in*
 “*opinion.*”

He likewise opposed *praying to saints*, and using them
 as our mediators, and pronounces them fools who seek
 after any other intercessor than Christ Jesus. He there-
 fore proposes, that the ^afestivals of the saints should

Dialog. lib.
iii. c. 30.

^a Notwithstanding this his opinion, he conformed to the usage of this Church
 at that time, as appears by his Sermons, yet extant, on the following holy days,
viz. The Vigil of St. Andrew, St. Andrew, the Octaves of St. Andrew, the
 Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, the Nativity of our Lord, St. Stephen’s Day,
 St. John Evangelist’s Day, Holy Innocents’ Day, St. Thomas of Canterbury,
 Circumcision, the Vigil of the Epiphany, the Epiphany, the Conversion of St.
 Paul, the Purification, the Chair of St. Peter, St. Matthew’s Day, the Annun-

MS. in Bib.
C. C. C.
Camb. K.
15. 4to.

CHAP.
VIII.

all be laid aside, and only the festival of Christ be observed, because then Christ's memory would be fresher, and the devotion of the people would not be so unduly divided among his members. He concludes that it is "a presumption, and owing to excessive covetousness" and the want of faith, that any men are canonized for "saints."

Ibid. lib. iv.
c. 11.

As to *ceremonies*, though Dr. Wiclif often complains of the excessive multitude of them in his time, and people's placing so much religion in the observation of them, that "they would rather break God's commandments, than neglect the least ceremony;" yet he owns it lawful to use them, and that "it is necessary we should be led in the way to happiness by some sensible signs." Accordingly he speaks with approbation of *kneeling* and *knocking on the breast* at prayer.

The Order
of Priest-
hood, c. 14.
MS.

"*Fasting*," he says, "is enjoined only for the sake of producing an act and habit that is better, and so it is commendable as it is an abstinence from sin." And therefore he styles it pharisaical to "set a greater value on bodily fasting or the breaking of it, which are things visible to others, than on a spiritual fasting or abstinence from sin."

Trial. lib. ii.
c. 15.

Dr. Wiclif likewise opposed *judicial astrology*, observing, that "the foundation of the astrologers' science is uncertain, and that they feigned or invented opinions which they knew nothing of."

Ibid. lib. iii.
c. 2.
* justitia,
fortitudo,
prudentia,
temperan-
tia.

He asserted likewise the necessity of our being assisted with the grace of God in order to our having any moral virtue, and obtaining eternal blessedness. "*Istas autem virtutes *quattuor, sicut quamcunque virtutem moralem,* ciation of St. Mary, St. Philip and Jacob, the Vigil of St. John Baptist, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Octaves of St. John Baptist, the Translation of St. Martin, the Octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Day of the Seven Holy Brethren, the Vigil of the Assumption of St. Mary, the Day of the Assumption, St. Bartholomew's Day, the Decollation of St. John Baptist, the Nativity of St. Mary, the Exaltation of the Cross, the Vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle, the Day of St. Matthew, St. Michael's Day, the Vigil of All Saints, All Saints' Day.

“est impossibile inesse homini nisi assit gratia Dei sui, CHAP. VIII.
 “quomodo, quæso, homo posset mereri beatitudinem vi-
 “vendo et agendo secundum beneplacitum Dei, nisi Deus
 “ex magna sua gratia hoc acceptet?”

Concerning the *resurrection* Dr. Wiclif declared it to Ibid. lib. iii. c. 40.
 be his opinion, that “though he was not ashamed to own
 “his ignorance of what God would ordain at that time;
 “or what or how much of the matter which they now
 “carry about them the bodies of the blessed will then
 “have; yet he did not doubt that many corpulent and
 “gross people carry about them here more matter, than
 “they will have after the resurrection in their own coun-
 “try.”

As to the place where *hell* is, he thought it “probable, Ibid. lib. iv. c. 43.
 “that it is in the middle or centre of the world, at the
 “greatest distance from heaven, and destitute of light,
 “and * all sort of comfort.” * assistente corpore con- solatorio.

His opinion of *images* he thus expressed: “*Thoug* Articles, MS. No. 10. alias Reg. Eccl.
 “*ymagis maad truli yat representen verili ye poverti and*
 “*possession of Ihu Crist and oyer seyntis ben leful, and ye*
 “*bookis of lewid men by Gregori and oyer Doctouris: neye-*
 “*less false imagis that representen worldli glorie, and pride of*
 “*the worlde, as if Crist and oyer seyntis hadden lyvid yus*
 “*and deservid blisse bi glorie and pompe of the world, ben*
 “*false bokis, and worryi to ben amendid or to be brent, as*
 “*bokis of opin errour, or of opin eresie agents Cristen feith.”*

“*Thoug imagis moun be worshipid in a manere, as for*
 “*signis of seyntis or as bokis of lewid men, or as a wyfe*
 “*kepith cherli the ryng of hir weddunge for love of hir hus-*
 “*bonde: nethes to worshipec them as Crist or his seyntis is*
 “*open idolatrie. And it semeth pleyndly that alle those that*
 “*onoure costli suche idolis in spoilinge pore men with unjust*
 “*axingis or tallagis, oppressingis, extorcions or other fraudis;*
 “*or in suffringe pore men to perishe for hungir, cold, or other*
 “*wretchidnessis for which thei grutchen agents God, onouren*
 “*more idolis that ben doumbe than oure Lorde Jesu Crist.*
 “*Forsothe if Ezechie the blessid king brak the brasene serpent*
 “*commaundid of God to be maad, for the puple gaf to it*

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VIII.

* So MS.

*"*entens and onour due to God alone, as it is open in the
 "iv boke of Kingis the 18 cap. hou moche more a Cristene
 "King, with assent of his Lordis and trewe Clergie, shuld
 "breke or brenne doumbe idolis, whiche neither Crist ne his
 "Apostolis comaundiden, neither counseiliden to be maad,
 "if the simple puple doth idolatrie by them in settinge hope
 "in them, or gevinge honoure to them due to God alone, as
 "in sweringe bi suche idolis, or in offringe to them either to
 "riche men whiche the Lord Crist commaundide to be gove
 "to pore men aloone."*

In the same place he observes of Pilgrimages, that
*"thoug it mygte be suffrid that sike men go a pilgrimage
 "in the rewme in visitynge the placis of seyntis to eschewe
 "synnis and to geve godis to nedi men, so that thei sette not
 "hope of helthe in the forseid ymagis, neither leeven the
 "werkis of merci anentis pore men, which Crist commaundide
 "under the peyne of everlastinge dampnacioun, in the 25
 "cap. of Mathu: nethes to gon a pilgrimage, and visite
 "suche placis in sette hope of helthe in doumbe idolis, or in
 "imagis made with mannis handis, in offringe to the imagis
 "or to riche men of the worlde the almes dedis, that ben due
 "to pore men bi commaundment of Crist, is uttrilli unlesful,
 "and an opin signe of idolatrie, and spoilinge and sleying
 "of pore men and apostasie either goinge abak fro Cristene
 "feith." On the whole he concludes, that "certis bi
 "suche imagis and nice pilgrimagis the werkis of merci ben
 "crueli withdrawe fro nedi men, and the common puple is
 "nedeles and unprofitabli ocupied and entreessid in synnis,
 "and proude Clerkis and Religiouse ben set so hige, that thei
 "neither knowe God ne himsif, neither seculer lordis duli, ne
 "here pore neighboris mercifulli."*

Great Sen-
 tence of
 Curse ex-
 pounded,
 c. 9. MS.

He blamed those he calls proud worldly Clerks for chal-
*lenging "franchise and priviledge in many great churches
 "that wicked men, open thieves, mansleers, that have borrowed
 "their neighbours goods and ben in power to pay and make
 "restitution, there shullen dwell in sanctuary, and no man
 "impeach them by process of law, ne oth sworn on God's
 "body and used: and they meynutenen stifly that the King*

“ mot confirm this privilege and nest of thieves and robbery
 “ in his rewme, agenst God’s hest, righteousness, and his open
 “ oath, by which he is sworn to do justice and equity to all his
 “ liege men.” So he elsewhere observes in the same tract,
 that “ all Clerks of our lond semen cursed in this point, for Ibid. c. 20.
 “ in eche parish church a common thief and mansleer shall be
 “ received fourty daies at the least, and no law pass on him
 “ to make restitution though he be of power, and to punish
 “ him justly for chastising of other misdoers; but after fourty
 “ days he shal forswere the King’s lond, and then many
 “ times he robbeth more and sleeth more men in trust of such
 “ *refute. Also,” he says, “ great houses of religion, as * Sic MS.
 “ Westminster, Beverly, and other, chalengen, usen, and meyn-
 “ tenen this priviledge, that whatever thief or felon come to
 “ this holy house of religion, he shall dwell there all his lyfe,
 “ and no man impeach him, though he owe poor men much
 “ good, and have enough to pay it; and though he robb and
 “ slee every night many men out of the franchises, and every
 “ day come agen he shal be meyntened thereto by virtue of
 “ this open heresie.”

Of Peter Pence Dr. Wiclif thus writes: “ The secunde De Satanæ
astu contra
fidem. MS.
 “ werke of goostly mercy that this Prest axith his Bischop
 “ touchith conscience of men, that the Bischop teche his
 “ child where gederynge of Petres Pens he groundid in reson
 “ of Goddis lawe. For this Preest woot of bileve that but
 “ gif the gifte be thus groundid, no Prelat ne Angel of he-
 “ vene schulde meve him to assent thereto. Sithen pore peple
 “ is spoylid inow, algif thei ben nogt thus bigilid. But this
 “ Prest seith by Goddis lawe that gif his Kynge wole have
 “ this moneye and all the goddis that he hath, he wile with
 “ good will geve them him. For he redith in Goddis lawe
 “ that Crist gave tribute to the Emperour; but he weneth
 “ that no man fyndith that Crist gave money to the Bischop
 “ or taugt men to geve him, but if Goddes lawe taugt to geve
 “ it. And oure bileve techeth that we ben holden to sue Crist
 “ in the things that we may, gif we wolen ever come to he-
 “ vene, so that sue Crist in vertues bi our power for this
 “ meede.”

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VIII.

Fol. 56.

In his Dialogues he thus delivers his opinion of the necessity of future events: “Quoad lapsum meum de *necessario*, recolo me dixisse in libro primo, quod *omnia quæ evenient absolute necessario evenient*. Et sic Deus non potest quicquam producere vel intelligere nisi quod de facto intelligit et producit. Sed quia quondam defendi constanter hujus oppositum, nec claret adhuc mihi demonstratio quæ hoc probat, ideo utor communiter hac cautela, mihi proposito tanquam possibili uno, quod non est de facto. Suppono hoc tanquam possibile, si Deus voluerit. Sed quia non scio quod Deus determinavit positum, et scio quod multa sunt de facto quorum dubia et sententias ignoramus; ideo ne evagemur superflue in incerto, vellem quod tractaremus de veritate possibili quæ est de facto, cum multas tales culpabiliter ignoramus.—Cum ergo in ignorantia Dei, in variatione suæ volitionis, vel rei impredientis, non potest obstaculum evenire, relinquitur quod propositum Dei oportet necessario adimpleri, et sic omne futurum necessario ^beveniet.”

Ibid. fol. 59.

By this account of Dr. Wiclif's opinions, which I have faithfully given the reader in his own words, he will be enabled to judge how little care his adversaries have used, either to be informed themselves exactly of what he taught, or to give a just representation of it to others. Of which, I think, the paper which I have put in the Collection, which was drawn up by some of his followers after his death, is an additional proof.

Coll.No.27.

^b Quamvis omnia futura de necessitate eveniant; Deus tamen vult quod bona servis suis eveniant per medium quo oratur. *Expos. Decal.* MS. p. 81.

CHAP. IX.

Of Dr. Wiclif's Writings.

AS Dr. Wiclif was very diligent and frequent in reading his Divinity lectures, and preaching, so he wrote and published a great many tracts. Insomuch that we are assured a certain Bishop wrote out of England, that he had got two very great volumes of them, which seemed to him as large as St. Austin's works. A learned modern writer, well acquainted with our English libraries, tells us, that "we have as many of the works of Wiclif yet extant as, if printed together, would make four or five volumes in folio." Subinco Lepus, Bishop of Prague, burnt two hundred volumes of them, very finely written and adorned with costly covers and gold bosses; for which reason, I suppose, they belonged to the nobility and gentry of a Bohemia. Many of these tracts Dr. Wiclif first published in Latin, and afterwards in English. For which he is thus complained of; that "not being content to have filled books written in Latin with his heresy, he also out of them composed books written in his country's language, and forthwith published them, that he might make even the country people skilful in his mischievous superstition; and that he had his end." For printing not being yet invented, it was very chargeable and expensive to transcribe large volumes, and people would have been discouraged by their bigness from perusing them. Dr. Wiclif therefore took care that those tracts he intended for the

Cochleus
Hist. Huss-
sit. lib. 1.

Anth. Har-
mar. Speci-
men, &c.
p. 16.

Hist. Bo-
hem. apud
Fasciculum
Rerum, vol.
i. p. 297.

Polydore
Virgil. Hist.
Angliæ, lib.
19.

* The names of the books wrote by Dr. Wiclif, which were carried into Bohemia and burnt there, are as follows.

1. *Dialogus*. 2. *Trialogus*. 3. *De Incarnatione Verbi Divini*. 4. *De corpore Christi*. 5. *De Trinitate*. 6. *De ideis*. 7. *De materia et forma*. 8. *De hypotheticis*. 9. *De individuatione temporis*. 10. *De probationibus propositionum*. 11. *De universalibus*. 12. *Super Evangelia sermones per circulum anni*. 13. *De dominio civili*. 14. *Decalogus*. 15. *De simonia*. 16. *De attributis*.

Of these John Huss tells us Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, treated of human sciences. Hist. et Monum. Jo. Huss, vol. i. p. 113.

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Leland de
Script. p.
380.

Ibid.

Acts, &c.
vol. i. p. 583.

Strype's
Life of Bp.
Ailmer, p.
265.

Script. Cat.
cent. 6.

use of the common people should be very short. For instance, his Wicket, of which we so often find mention made, was, when printed, but nineteen pages in twelves. For this reason all people were very strictly forbidden to read any of Dr. Wiclif's writings, and very diligent search was made after them, especially those in English. The Pope excommunicated all those who kept any of them, so that it was more than capital to preserve even the least tittle of them from the flames. By these cruelties people were very much restrained from the public use of any of Wiclif's books, insomuch that Leland tells us he never saw any more of them than the eight following.

1. *De rebus Sophisticis*, lib. 3.

2. *De mandatis*.

3. 4. *De legibus et veneno*.

5. *De paupertate Christi*.

6. *De Cœna Domini*.

7. *Trialogus*.

8. *De realibus universalibus*.

Mr. Fox tells us that among other of Dr. Wiclif's treatises he had himself the three following. 1. *De sensu et veritate Scripturæ*. 2. *De Ecclesia*. 3. *De Eucharistia confessio* : all which, he says, he intended to publish, but some way or other he was prevented. The second of these, it is very probable, is the book which Bishop Ailmer chanced to meet with while he was in exile during Queen Mary's reign, in the hands of one who brought it out of Bohemia, which treated "of the Church and Churchmen, "and the abuses and corruptions superinduced by them," and which the Bishop wished to see printed.

The largest and most particular account of Dr. Wiclif's writings is given us by Bishop Bale, though a great many of them, he tells us, he never saw himself, but took the titles of them from the writings of those who wrote against Dr. Wiclif. I shall therefore transcribe this account given by Bishop Bale, only adding where they are to be found, or in what libraries those of them which are yet in MS. are : and supplying the defects of it by an account of such

tracts in our libraries, which are said to be Dr. Wiclif's, of which Bishop Bale gives no account. CHAP.
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1. *Dialogorum suorum* lib. 4. *Cum locutio ad personam multis.* This book was printed somewhere in Germany, A. D. 1525, in quarto, without any name of place or printer, with the following title. *Jo. Wiclefi viri undequaque piis. dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem, et ideas tractat. Secundus universarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis copiosissime loquitur. Quartus Romæ Ecclesiæ sacramenta, ejus pestiferam dotationem, Antichristi regnum, fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocrisim, variaque nostro ævo scitu dignissima graphice perstringit, quæ ut essent inventu facilia singulorum librorum tam caput, tum capitis summam indice prænotavimus MDXXV.* The copies of this book, having been destroyed by the Papists, are so rare, that the learned Mr. Wharton thought that in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge the only copy in England. But his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has another in his noble library, collected by himself, of which, by his Grace's favour, I had the perusal. And the learned Dr. John Evans was so kind as to communicate to me another copy of the same book, which formerly belonged to Bishop Simon Patrick.

2. *De religione perfectorum*, lib. 3. *Si Episcopus in confirmatione.*

3. *De Ecclesia et membris*, lib. 2. *Suppositis dictis de fide catholica.*

4. *De Diabolo et membris*, lib. 2. *Prout omnipotens Deus in Trinitate.* A copy of this in English is in the collection in C. C. C. in Cambridge, with this title; *How Satan and his priests, and his feined religious casten by three cursed heresies to destroy all good living, and meyn-tening all manner of sin.* It thus begins: "*As Almighty God in Trinity ordeineth men to come to the bliss of heaven——*" Bibl. Bodl.
Arch. A.
No. 3849.
p. 58. c. 20.

5. *De Christo et Antichristo*, lib. 2. *Egressus Jesus de templo, Mattheus.* This tract is at the end of a MS. vo- See No. 13.

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lume of homilies on the Gospels, folio, in three parts, in Trinity College library in Cambridge, C. 3, 4. and begins thus: "*Egressus Jesus, Matt. xxiv. Textus Matthei de Antichristo. This Gospel tellith myche wisdom that is hid to mani men, and speciali for this cause that it is not alle rede in churche.*" It is likewise in a MS. volume in C.C. College in Cambridge, among the Homilies on the Gospels for holy days.

6. *De Antichristo et membris*, lib. 2. *Quemadmodum Dominus Jesus ordinavit.*

7. *Iterum de Antichristo*, lib. 1. *Nota quod Antichristus 4 corn.*

8. *Sermones in Epistolas*, lib. 4. *Circa Epistolæ sententiam dicendum.* This is the first of the homilies on the Sunday Epistles throughout the year in the public library at Cambridge, MS. 349. class 4. and in the King's library at Essex House, No. 1567. The title, according to this last MS. runs thus: *Here begynneth the first Sonedai Pistil of Advent. Dominica prima: Scientes quia hora est. Rom. xiii.* The homily begins thus: "*We taken as bileeve that the Pistils of Apostolis ben Gospells of Crist—*"

Claudius D. viii. 2. 9. *Sermones in Evangelia*, lib. 3. Bishop Bale seems never to have seen this. In the MS. volume aforesaid in the public library at Cambridge, is an Exposition on the Gospels, &c. In the Cotton library are Homilies in English on the Epistles and Gospels. The first Epistle is for the sixth day after the nativity of Christ, Gal. iv. *Quanto tempore heres parvulus est.* The homily on which begins thus: "*Poule tellith in this Epistle what freedom men sholden use, and leve service of the oold law.*" The Gospel is, *Vidit Johannes Ihesum venientem ad se*, Joh. i. "*This Gospel telleth a witness hou Baptist witnesses of Crist, both of his Godhede and sumdel of his manhede.*" In the King's library is a volume of English homilies on the Epistles, and another on the Gospels; they both begin with the first Sunday in Advent, and in the latter the Gospels are written in English.

E. 1567,
1601.

10. *In Evangelia festivalia*, lib. 1. *Hoc Evangelium*

historice narrat. These homilies are in a MS. collection in C.C.C. library at Cambridge, K. 15. and in the King's library, No. 1567, the first of which homilies is on the Vigil of St. Andrew, *Stabat Joannes*, Joh. viii. and beginneth thus: "*This Gospel tellith in storie how Crist gederide his disciplis, and seith that John stode and two of his disciplis.*"—There is very little difference betwixt the two collections, only that in the King's library has homilies on the festivals of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Seven Holy Brethren, and St. James, which are not in the C.C. collection.

11. *In Evangelia ferialia*, lib. 1. *Principium Evangelii Jesu Christi.* These are homilies on the weekday Gospels, as Wednesdays and Fridays, &c. They are in the collection above mentioned. The first homily is on the Wednesday Gospel in the first week of Advent, *principium Evangelii*, Mar. i. and begins thus: "*Os men schulde trowe in Crist that he is bothe God and man, so men schulde trowe to his worde.*"—The collection in the King's library is here different: it does not name the Gospel, and begins thus: "*This Gospel of Mark begynneth hou Crist was teld in the oold lawe, and hou al his liif was figurid both in patriarkis and in prophetis.*"

12. *In Evangelia Dominicalia*, lib. 1. *Homo quidam erat dives et.* These are homilies on the Sunday Gospels throughout the year. The copy which Bishop Bale saw seems to have been that in the public library at Cambridge, MSS. 349. class 4. in which the first homily on the Gospels is on the first Sunday Gospel after Trinity. *Homo quidam erat dives*, Luc. xvi. and thus begins: "*Crist tellith in this parable hou richessis ben perelous.*" But according to the copy of these homilies in the King's library, No. 1567. the first of them is on the first Sunday Gospel of Advent, *Cum appropinquasset Jesus Hierosolimis*, Matt. xxi. and thus begins: "*This Gospel tellith of the secunde Advent of Crist.*"

13. *In commune sanctorum*, lib. 1. *Ego sum vitis vera, vos palmites.* This book is in the MS. library of C.C.C.

CHAP. Cambridge, K. 15. 4to. It consists of two parts. In the
IX. first are thirty-one homilies on several texts promiscuously
chosen; the first of which is John xv. 5. and begins thus:
“*As comyn thing is better and before other things, so this*
“*Gospel that is red in comyn sanctorum shulde men knowe*
“*sumwhat, specially Priests, for it is a foule thing that*
“*Priests speke as pies, and know not their own vois more*
“*than dom bests, and specially whan they reden Beleve of*
“*holy Church.*”

In the MS. copy in the King's library, at the end of
this tract, *In Commune Sanctorum*, is written, “Here is
“eendid the *Commune Sanctorum*, and now bigynneth the
“propre.” But in the C.C.C. MS. it is ended thus; “Ex-
“plicit *Commune Sanctorum*,” and the volume of homilies
that follows on the Gospels for holydays is begun with
an homily entitled, *Expositio Evangelii Matthei*, on this
Gospel, *Egressus Jesus de templo*, Matt. xxiv. which
seems to be the same with that mentioned by Bishop
Bale, No. 5. and to be here misplaced, as several other
homilies are in these collections.

In the same volume is an imperfect tract entitled *Pardon*.
It originally consisted of five leaves, but four are cut
out, so that only one side is now remaining, which begins
thus: “*O Cristen men, in the beleve of Crist that thenken*
“*for to have pardon, loke what pardon, and who may gif*
“*pardon, and who reteyneth pardon, and how it shulde*
“*be geven, and thane examyne pardon and her Bullis,*
“*and wher thei be groundide in feith and charitie.*” This
shews the design of this tract to be to shew the falseness
and invalidity of the Pope's Bulls of pardons and indul-
gences.

14. *De dominis et servis*, lib. 2. *Servi primum juste*
ac libenter. This tract is in English in the MS. collection
in C.C.C. Cambridge, c. 161. 48. with this title: *Of Serv-*
ants and Lords, how eche shull kepe his Degree. It begins
thus: “*First, servants shullen truly and gladly serve to*
“*their lords or masters;*” and contains almost twenty-six
pages in 4to.

15. *Speculum militantis Ecclesiæ*, lib. 2. *Cum identitas mater sit fastidii.*

16. *Confessio de Eucharistia*, lib. 1. *Sæpe confessus sum et adhuc.* A copy of this is in the Fascic. zizaniorum in Hyperoo Bodl. 163. This is in the Collection, No. 16.

17. *Determinationes Eucharist.* lib. 1. *Hostia consecrata in altari.*

18. *Summulæ logicales*, lib. 3. *Juvenum rogatibus quibus.*

19. *De speciebus hypotheticis*, lib. 1. *Sequitur de speciebus hypotheti.*

20. *De exclusivis et exceptivis*, lib. 1. *Secundarie superius est promissum.*

21. *De copulativis et relativis*, lib. 1. *Sequitur de copulativis pertract.*

22. *De disjunctivis*, lib. 1. *Tertio sequitur de disjunctivis.*

23. *De raritate et densitate*, lib. 1. *Videtur ex tertio sequi quod nihil.*

24. *De velocitate motus localis*, lib. 1. *Jam ultimo restat videre quid.*

25. *De propositionibus temporalibus*, lib. 1. *Sequitur jam ultimo de proposit.*

26. *De causalibus*, lib. 1. *Pertractandum venit de causalibus.*

27. *De comparativis*, lib. 1. *Consequens est ad dicta superad.*

28. *De conditionalibus*, lib. 1. *Primo supponitur omnem hypotheti.*

29. *De motu locali*, lib. 1. *Sequitur de localibus pertract.*

30. *De materia et forma*, lib. 1. *Cum materia et forma sint uni.*

31. *Tractatus de anima*, lib. 1. *Restat ulterius pertractare de.*

32. *De esse ideali quorumlibet*, lib. 1. *Tractando de ideis primo oportet.* This and No. 37, are No. 11, 10. in a MS. volume of tracts in the library of Trinity College

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in Cambridge, MS. 326. 8. C. 5. 8. which contains the tracts that follow:

1. De ente communi. *In primis supponitur ens esse, hoc enim non probari potest nec ignorari ab aliquo.*
2. De ente primo. *Extenso ente secundum ejus maximam ampliationem, possibile est venari in tanto ambitu ens primum.*
3. De purgando errores, et veritate in communi. *Consequens est purgare errores.*
4. De purgando errores et universalibus in communi. *Tractatu continentur dicta de universalibus.*
5. De universalibus. *Tractatus de universalibus continet 16 capitula cujus primum.*
6. De tempore. *In tractando de tempore sunt aliqua ex dictis superius capienda.*
7. De intellectione Dei. *Illorum quæ insunt Deo communiter quædam insunt sibi soli.*
8. De scientia Dei. *Ex dictis superius satis liquet quod scientiam quam Deus.*
9. De volitione Dei. *Tractando de volitione Dei quam oportet ex dictis supponere.*
10. De personarum distinctione. *Superest investigare de distinctione et convenientia personarum quas credimus plena fide.*
11. De ydeis. *Tractando de ydeis primo oportet quærere si sunt.*
12. De potentia productiva Dei. *Veritatum quas Deus non potest renovare.*
13. De sermone Domini in 3 part. *Licet totum Evangelium.* This tract is all in Latin, and divided into four books. See No. 161.
33. *Logica de singulis, lib. 1. In purgando errores circa univer.*
34. *De dilectione, lib. 1. In quolibet homine peccatore.*
35. *De studio lectionis, lib. 1. Malum est in eis perseverare ea.*

Titus, D. 19.

36. *Octo beatitudines, lib. 1. Jesus Christus qui est Dominus.* In the Cotton library is a MS. entitled the

Eight Blessings, a sermon on the feast of All Saints, being a sort of comment in English on the former part of our Lord's sermon on the mount. It begins thus: "*Videns Ihesus turbas ascendit in montem*, Matt. v. *Freendis Seynt Jon Crisostom in the Omelie upon this Gospel of this day seith that every beest reasonable and unreasonable, when he seeth a thing that is lusty and comfortable to his kynde, joyeth and is myche refreished thereby.*"

37. *De Trinitate*, lib. 1. *Superest investigare de distinctione*. This book of Dr. Wiclif's was, it seems, burnt by the order of Sbinsk, Bishop of Prague, which occasioned John Huss to defend it in one of his Acts in the Schools, A. D. 1410. No. 32. tract 10. entitled *De personarum distinctione*.

38. *Elucidarium Bibliorum*, lib. 1. *Viginti quinque libri Veteris Testamenti*. This was written in English, and printed 1550, in 12mo. with this title, *The true Cope of a Prolog wrytten about two hundred (one hundred and sixty-seven) yeares paste, by John Wyckliffe, (as may justly be gathered bi that that John Bale hath written of him in his Boke entitled, The Summarie of famous Writers of the Ile of Great Britain,) the Original whereof is founde written in an olde Englishe Bible, betwixt the Old Testament and the Newe, which Bible remaynith now in the Kyng hys Majesties Chamber. Imprinted at London by Robert Crowley, dwellynge in Elie Rents in Holburne, anno Dom. 1550.* But this seems not to have been written by Dr. Wiclif, but by John Purney, who reviewed Wiclif's Translation of the Bible, and prefixed to it this Prologue.

39. *Transtulit in Anglicum sermonem Biblia tota, adhibitis prefationibus atque argumentis cuique libro suis*. Of this there are several MS. copies in our libraries. In the public library at Cambridge, class 3. No. 4.—454. folio, is a MS. copy of the New Testament translated into English, to which is prefixed the Prologue above mentioned. To each book is there added an English preface taken out of St. Jerome. That before St. Matthew thus begins: "*Here*

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“bigynneth a Newe Testament, first the Prologe on Mathew. Mathew that was of Judee, as he is set first in ordre of Gospellers, so he wroot first the Gospel in Judee, and from the office of a tolgadrere he was clepid to God.”—

At the end of this Prologue is the following rubric: *“Jerom in his tweyne Prologis on Mathew seith pleyntli thus: and here bigynneth the Gospel, cap. primum—”* A 4to copy of this same translation of the New Testament is in Emanuel College in Cambridge, in a spare leaf at the end of which is written, that this translation was finished 1383, and this copy taken 1397, and that the value of this copy is ten shillings. The copy I have cost me forty-five shillings. For the more easy dispersion of this translation of the New Testament into English among the common people, it was parcelled out in little volumes. As sometimes the four Gospels; at other times St. Paul's Epistles; and at others the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse. I have a small volume in 12mo, in which are written the Gospel of St. John, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

In Trinity College library is a MS. copy of the Pentateuch only of this translation. It is a thin folio, fairly written, and entitled, *Libri Mosaici Angl.*

40. *Translatio Clementis Lanthoniensis*, lib. 2. *Sanctus Augustinus dicit in.* This Clement was a Canon of the Order of St. Austin, and Prior of the monastery of Lanthony in Wales. He flourished A.D. 1154, and wrote in Latin an Harmony of the Evangelists, which began thus: *“Quæris qua fretus autoritate.”* He likewise wrote a Latin Commentary on the four Gospels. In the Earl of Oxford's library is a MS. entitled, *John Wiclif's Translation of Clement Lanthon's Harmony of the Gospels*, which begins thus: *“Clement, a Preest of the Chirche of Lanthouth,”* in 12 parts.

Leland de
Scrip. Brit.
p. 226.

41. *Commentarii in Psalterium*, lib. 1. *Magnam abundantiam consolationis divinæ.* In the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, is a MS. entitled, *Enarratio compendiosa et pia in Psalterium*, 4to. Lat. It thus begins:

R. 10. 25.

"Magnam abundantiam consolationis." In the MS. library at Lamhith is an English Exposition of the first eighty-nine Psalms, the prologue to which thus begins: "*Grete habundaunce of gostly comfort and joye in God cometh into the hertis of hem yat seyn or syngen devoutly thes Psalmes, in loving of Jhesu Crist thei droppen swettness in mannes soule.*" Of this performance the author gives the following account: "*In this werke I seke no straunge Englysche, but esiest and communest, and soche that is moste lyke to the Latyne, so that they that knowen not Latyne by the Englysche may come to many Latyne words. In the translatioun I follow the letre as miche as I may, and where I fynde noon proper Englysche I follow the witt of the wordis so that thei that shal rede it, thur not drede erryng in the expoundyng.*" A specimen of this translation is what follows.

"Blissid is that man the which zede not in counseil of Psalm i. wickid, and in the wey of synful stode not, and in the cheyr of pestilence sat not."

The same book is in the Bodleian library, MSS. Guil. Laud, F. 7. 2438. 10. ascribed to Dr. Wiclif: at the end of it follow the tracts on the Canticles of Holy Scripture: which Bishop Bale calls,

42. *Super Cantica Sacra*, lib. 1. which contains the following tracts:

1. Canticum Ysaiaë, 12mo. *Confitebor tibi Domine, &c.* "*That is to the lovinge of thee I schal schrive my synnes, and that I schal do for thei displesen thee.*"
2. Canticum Ezekiaë Isai. 38. *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum, &c.* "*Hezekiah the king after his sickness and grauntynge of lyfe fiveteen yeeres, overloveth God.*"
3. Reg. 1. cap. 2. *Exultavit cor meum in Domino, &c.* "*Helkanah who was fadre of Samuel had two wyves.*"
4. Cant. Moys. Exod. 14. *Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est.* "*Wee that ben ladde out of Egypte.*"

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pro 3º.

5. Abacuc. * 5º. *Domine audiui auditionem tuam, &c. "Lord through the privitie of thy incarnation "I knew thee our God, having merci on thin handi "werk."*
6. Deuteron. 32. *Audite cœli que loquor — "That "is yee men that have your conversation in hevene, "and ye that bene in actyf lyfe."*
7. Dan. 3. *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino — "This Psalme was maade after a miracle "that God dyde in the tyme of Nabugodonosor."*
8. *Te Deum laudamus. "It is communli seide that "this song was maad of Austin and Ambrose."*
9. Lucæ 1º. *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel. — "This psalm is of more authority than the song be- "fore, for it is bileeve of the Gospel as Luc tellith."*
10. Lucæ 1º. *Magnificat anima mea — "Our "lady Ste. Mary after the greetinge of Gabriel, "and the conceyvinge of Goddes Son."*
11. Luc. 1º. *Nunc dimittis. — "This is the thredde "psalm singen of Preestis again thei go to her "bedde late on nyghtes."*
12. *Symbolum Athanas. Quicumque vult — "It "is seide communlie that there ben thre creddes—"*
This comment is imperfect, and ends with that
"verse, *There is one Person of the Fadre, another "of the Sone—"*
43. *De veritate Scripturæ, lib. 1. Restat parumper discutere Errores.* A tract with this title in 4to. is in the Bodleian library, Rotulæ in Archivo A. 3021. 32. Mr. Fox calls it, *De sensu et veritate Scripturæ.*
44. *De cessatione legalium, lib. 1. Redeundo autem ad propositum de.*
45. *Ad quendam discipulum, lib. 1. Pauper discipulus Jesu Christi.*
46. *De statu innocentiae, lib. 1. Ut supradicta magis appareant.*
47. *Ad Parliamentum Regis, lib. 1. Protestor publice ut sæpe alias.* Of this there is a copy in the Collection.
48. *Conclusionum suarum lib. 1. Totum genus huma-*

num citra Christum. This is only a single half sheet, containing the Conclusions sent to the Pope, A. D. 1377.

49. *Sermones hyemales*, lib. 1. *Initium sacri Jesu Christi evangelii.*

50. *Sermones æstivales*, lib. 1. *Vespere autem sabbati quæ luceſc.*

51. *De dotatione Ecclesiæ*, lib. 1. *Utrum clerus debuerit dotationem.*

52. *De stipendiis ministrorum*, lib. 1. *Considerate qui stipendia sacerdotibus.* This tract is in English, in the MS. Collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, mentioned before, entitled, *How men shulden find Priests*, beginning with these words: "*Thinketh wisely ye men that finden Priestes, that ye don this almes for God's love, and help of your soules, and help of Christen men, and not for pride of the world, to have them occupied in worldly office and vanity.*"

53. *De compositione hominis*, lib. 1. *Tria movent me ad tractandum.*

54. *De abominatione desolationis*, lib. 1. *Cum videritis abominationem desolationis.* A copy of this tract is said to be in the Imperial library at Vienna.

55. *De Diabolo millenario*, lib. 1. *Cum consummati fuerint mille anni.*

56. *De lege divina*, lib. 1. *Ut de legibus loquar Christianorum.*

57. *De civili dominio*, lib. 1. *Aperta eruditio legis divinæ.*

58. *De Ecclesiæ dominio*, lib. 1. *Christi Ecclesia est ejus Sponsa.* Of this tract there is a copy in English in the King's library, E. 1567. It is entitled, *Of the Chirche of Christ and of hir Membris, and of hir Governauce*, and begins thus: "*Christis Chirche is his Spouse that hath thre partis; the first part is in bliss with Christ head of the Chirch, and conteyneth aungels, and blessid men that now be in hevene; the secunde parte of the Churche be seyntis in purgatorie, and these synen not of newe, but purge their oold synnes, and many errours fallen in*

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*“prayinge for these seyntis, and sith thei alle ben dede in
“bodi, Cristis wordis may be taken of hem, sue we Crist
“in our lyf, and late the dede bury the deede; the thridde
“part of the Chirche ben trewe men that here lyven, that
“schulen be aftur saved in hevens, and lyven here Cristen
“mennes lyf.”*

59. *De dominio divino*, lib. 1. *Quoniam plerique pseudo-glossatores.* This tract is in a volume of Wiclif's MSS. in the library of Trinity College near Dublin. It thus begins: *“Sith false glosseris maken Goddis law derk,
“and letten secular men to susteyne, and kepe it, of sich
“false glosis schulde each man be war.”*

60. *Ad quæsitâ Regis et Concilii*, lib. 1. *Dubium est utrum regnum Angliæ possit legitime imminente necessitate suæ defencionis thesaurum regni detinere ne deferatur ad externos etiam Domino Papa sub pena censurarum et virtute obedientiæ hoc petente.*—In Hyperoo Bodl. 163. Fox's Acts, &c. vol. i. p. 584.

61. *Responsiones ad objecta*, lib. 1. *In principio protestor publice sicut alias.* See No. 47. Of this paper there is a copy in Walsingham's History, p. 206, 207, 208, which he there intimates was drawn up by Dr. Wiclif, and by him delivered to the Pope's Delegates, 1378, as his defence.

62. *Cæremoniarum Chronicon*, lib. 1. *Alexander Papa ordinavit primum.*

63. *De Papa Romana*, lib. 1. *Pro eo quod hæc insolita dissensio.*—A copy of this tract is in the abovesaid volume of MSS. in Trinity College library near Dublin, entitled, *Schisma Papæ*, and begins thus: *“For this uncouth
“dissention that is betwixt these Popes, semeth to sig-
“nify the perillous times.”*

64. *De nequitiis ejusdem*, lib. 1. *Sicut noster Dominus Jesus Christus.* A copy of this is in English in the afore-said collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, with this title, *How Antichrist and his Clerks travailen to destroy holy Writ, and to make Cristen Men unstable in the faith, and to sett their ground in devils of hell.* It begins

thus: "*As our Lord Jesu Christ ordeyned to make his Gospel sadly known.*——"

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65. *Dialogus de fratribus*, lib. 1. *Fertur quendam fratrem inflatum.*

67. *In prophetiam Hildegardis*, lib. 1. *Beata virgo Hildegardis cujus hæc.* This Hildegardis was Abbess of the monastery of St. Rupert, on the mount near the Rhine, A. D. 1170, and was famous for her prophetic visions, which were confirmed by Pope Eugenius III. A. D. 1148, and printed at Paris 1513. One of these John Huss mentions, as relating to the taking away from the Clergy the lordships and manors in their possession, which they abused to the encroaching on the civil government. On this, it is very probable, this tract of Wiclif's is a comment.

Cave's Hist.
Liter. vol. i.
p. 684.

68. *De origine sectarum*, lib. 1.

69. *De earundem perfidia*, lib. 1. *Ut scripturas destruant solícite laborant.*

70. *In regulam Minoritarum*, lib. 1. *Regula et vita, &c. hic Minoritæ.* A copy of this in English is in the aforesaid collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, and entitled, *This is the Rule of St. Francis.* It is a translation from the Latin, which is preserved in Matthew Paris's History, and begins thus: "*The rule and the living of Freres Menours is this.*"

71. *Super testamento Francisci*, lib. 1. *Sed dicunt hic minores quod*——Next to the rule of St. Francis followeth in the abovesaid collection *the Testament of St. Francis*, which is likewise an English translation, at the end of which follow some observations of Dr. Wiclif's on it, which begin thus: "*But here the Menours seyn that the Pope dischargeth them of this Testament.*"

72. *De fratrum nequitiis*, lib. 1. *Primo fratres dicunt quod religio.* This tract is likewise in English in the abovesaid collection. It is entitled, *Objections of Freres*, and begins, "*First, Freres seyn that their religion founden of sinful men is more perfit than that religion or order the which Christ himself made that is both God and man.*" This tract was printed at Oxford in 4to. by Joseph

CHAP. IX. Barnes, 1608, being published by Dr. Thomas James, keeper of the Bodleian Library.

73. *Contra mendicitatem validam*, lib. 1. *Illustrissimo duci Glocestriæ Joanni*. See No. 150.

74. *In xxiii caput Matthæi*, lib. 1. *Jesus locutus est ad turbas et ad*.

75. *Speculum de Antichristo*, lib. 1. *Dicunt primo Evangelii prædicatores*. A copy of this is in English in the aforesaid collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, with this title, *How Antichrist and his Clerks feren true Priests fro preching of Christ's Gospel by four Deceits*; and begins thus: "*First, they seyn that preching of the Gospel maketh eth dissention and enmity.*"

76. *De conversatione Ecclesiasticorum*, lib. 1. *Prælati relicto prædicationis officio*. This tract is likewise in English in the aforesaid collection, and thus begins: "*Here it telleth of Prelates, that Prelates leaven preching of the Gospel, and ben gostly manquellers of mens souls.*"

77. *De Episcoporum erroribus*, lib. 1. *Octo sunt quibus decipiuntur simplices*. This tract is likewise in English in the aforesaid collection, and begins thus: "*There bin eight things by which simple Christen men ben deceyved.*"

78. *De xxxiii erroribus Curatorum*, lib. 1. *Pro eo quod Curatorum officium sit*. This tract is likewise in English, in the aforesaid collection, with this title, *How the Office of Curates is ordeyned of God*, and begins thus: "*For the office of Curates is ordeyned of God, and few done it well, and many full evil.*"

79. *De perfectione Evangelica*, lib. 1. *Primo fratres dicunt suam religionem*. See No. 72.

80. *De veritate scripturæ*, lib. 1. *Diabolus quærit multis modis*. See No. 43.

81. *Excusationes ad Urbanum*, lib. 1. *Gaudeo plane detegere cuique fidem*. This is a single half sheet, a copy of it in English is in my collection of papers, &c. It is likewise in Latin in the Cotton library, No. 18.

82. *De gradibus cleri*, lib. 1. *Videtur autem sanctis doctoribus*.

83. *De officio pastorali*, lib. 1. *Cum duplex debeat esse officium.*

84. *De simonia sacerdotum*, lib. 1. *Heu magni sacerdotes in tenebris.*

85. *Super pœnitentiis injungendis*, lib. 1. *Pro eo quod Curatorum officium sit.* See No. 78.

86. *De clericorum ordinatione*, lib. 1. *Quia sacerdotium ordinatur a Deo.* This tract is in English in the aforesaid collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, with this title, *Of the Order of Priesthood*, and begins thus: "*For the order of priesthood is ordained of God, both in the old law and in the new.*"

87. *De hypocritarum imposturis*, lib. 1. *Attendite a fermento Phariseorum.* This tract is likewise in English in the same collection; but the beginning of it is so defaced that it cannot be read. It is likewise in the collection of Dr. Wiclif's tracts in Trinity College near Dublin, and thus begins: "*Crist commandith to his disciplis, and to alle Cristen men, to understonde and flee the sower dow of Pharisees, which is ypocrisy.*"

88. *De blasphemia contra fratres*, lib. 1. *Referunt quod tria sunt quæ regnum.* A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Archiv. A. 83. with this title, *De tribus blasphemis monachorum.* It is in English, and begins thus: "*It is seide that thre thingis stourblin this rewme, and specially heresie.*"

89. *Super oratione dominica*, lib. 1. *Docet nos Dominus Jesus Christus.* There are several of these expositions of the Lord's Prayer mentioned among Dr. Wiclif's works. Mr. Wharton tells us of two: one in a miscellany collection that belonged to the late learned Dr. Thomas Tenison, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, which is pretty long, and in which Dr. Wiclif sharply opposes the errors of the Papists; and another that is shorter. In the collection in C.C.C. Cambridge, so often mentioned, after an English translation of the Lord's Prayer follows a short exposition of it, which begins thus: "*When we seyn Our Fader that art in heaven, we ben taught.*"

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90. *De precationibus sacris*, lib. 1. *Orare nos docens Dominus Jesus*. This little tract is in the collection aforesaid in C.C.C. It is written in English with this title, *How Prayer of good Men helpeth much, and Prayer of sinfull Men displetheth God, and harmeth themselves and other Men*. It thus begins: “Our Lord Jesu Christ techeth us
“to pray evermore for all nedefull things both to body and
“soul.”

91. *De virtute orandi*, lib. 1. *Ut sabbatizatio nostra sit Deo acceptabilis*.

92. *In xvii. caput Joannis*, lib. 1. *Sublevatis oculis in cælum Jesus*. This is one of the homilies on the holyday Gospels in the MS. collection in C.C.C. in Cambridge, 4to. K. 15. in Vigil. Ascensionis, *Sublevatis Jesu oculis*, Joh. xvii. “This Gospel of Jon tellith what looves mens soules
“schul eyte, for wordis of the Gospel ben bred of liyf to
“mens soules.”

93. *De Christianorum villicatione*, lib. 1. *Redde rationem villicationis*. An English tract with this title and beginning was printed A. D. 1582, and is said in the title page to be a Sermon preached at Paul’s Cross, on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, by R. Wimbledon, in the reign of King Henry IV. A. D. 1388, and found out hid in a wall. But the editor was certainly mistaken in his chronology; for King Henry IV. did not begin to reign till A. D. 1399. He may be as well mistaken as to the author, who, in a MS. in Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge, is called Thomas Wymbledon, and the sermon is said to be preached A. D. 1389. Neither Bale, Leland, nor Wharton, &c. who have given an account of the English writers, make any mention of such a man. It is therefore not improbable, that it is one of Dr. Wiclif’s tracts, and that, on account of the strict prohibition of his books, and the great penalty incurred in having them, a feigned name was put to it by the owner. This is the more likely, for that the subject of this discourse is the same with that of most of Wiclif’s tracts, viz. the corruptions of the Clergy and temporal lords. It thus begins: “Come give a reckoning of thy bay-

“ *liwick. Christe the Author and Doctor of all truth, in his* CHAP.
 “ *Gospel lykeneth the kyngdome of heaven to an housholder,* IX.
 “ *saying on this wise.—*”

94. *De divite apud Marcum, lib. 1. Cum egressus esset in viam Salvator.*

95. *De remissione fraterna, lib. 1. Si autem peccaverit in te frater.*

96. *De surdo et muto apud Marcum, lib. 1. Iterum exiens de finibus Tyri.* This is one of the homilies on the Sunday Gospels in the collection in Trinity College library, MS. 349. class 4. It is on the Gospel for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity. *Exiens Jesus de finibus Tiri, Matt. vii.* “ *This Gospel tellith a miracle of Crist to men to love him.*”

97. *De Phariseo et Publicano, lib. 1. Dixit Jesus ad quosdam qui in se.* This is another of those homilies. It is on the Gospel for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity. *Dixit Jesus ad quosdam qui in se confidebant tanquam justi, Luc. xviii.* “ *This Gospel tellith in a parable hou that men schulden be meke, and not justifie hemsilf.*”

98. *Defensio sui contra impios, lib. 1. Evangelii prædicationem lites suscipere.*

99. *De censuris Ecclesiæ, lib. 1. Quantum ad excommunicationem attigit.*

100. *De tribus sagittis, lib. 1. Quisquis mente tenere cupit quid.* No. 140. tract 10.

101. *Speculum peccatoris, lib. 1. Quoniam in via sumus vitæ labentis.* In the King's library is a MS. tract in E. 1732. English, entitled, *The Vicitacioun of siik Men.* It begins thus: “ *My dere sone or daigtur in God, it semeth that thou liigest faste in the way fro this liif to Godward.*”

102. *De charitate fraterna, lib. 1. Primum cum quolibet homine qui.*

103. *De purgatorio piorum, lib. 1. Dona eis, Domine, requiem semper.*

104. *In Apocalypsin Joannis, lib. 1. Sanctus Apostolus Paulus dicit.—*This tract is in the King's library, E. 1732. p. 67. The prologue of it begins thus: “ *Seynt Poul*

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“the Apostle seith that alle tho that wolen lyve mekeli in
“Crist Jhesu”—The exposition thus: “The undoyng of
“Seynt Joon bitokeneth Prelatis of hooli Chirche that un-
“derstondith the vois of the Gospels —”

105. *De obedientia Prælatorum*, lib. 1. *Prælati Sacerdotes et alios accusant*. This tract is in English in the collection so often mentioned in C. C. C. in Cambridge, with this title, *How Men owen Obesthe to Prelates drede Curse and keep Law*; and begins thus: “Prelates slandering poor priests and other Christen men, that they will not obesthe to their Sovereigns, ne dreden curse, ne keep the law, but dispise all thing that is against their liking.”

106. *De clericis possessionariis*, lib. 1. *Clerici possessiones habentes destruunt*. This tract is in the same collection, with this title, *Of Clerks Possessioners*, and begins thus: “Clerks Possessioners fordon priesthood, knighthood, and commoners.”

107. *Impedimenta Evangelizantium*, lib. 1. *Primum cum boni homines doceant*. This tract is in the same English collection, with this title, *Of feigned contemplif Life*, and begins thus: “First, when true men techen by God’s law, wit, and reson, that eche Priest oweth to do his might, his wit, and his will, to preche Christ’s Gospel; the fend blindeth hypocrites to excuse them by feyned contemplif life.”

108. *Ad regem et parliamentum*, lib. 1. *Placeat serenissimo Regi Ricardo*. This is in * English in the same collection, with this title, *A Complaint to the King and Parliament*, and begins thus: “Plese it to our most noble, and most worthy King Richard, king both of England and France, and to the noble Duke of Lancaster, and to other great men of the rewme both to Seculars, and men of holy Churche that ben gadred in the Parliament.” This tract was published at Oxford in quarto 1608 by Dr. Thomas James.

* It is likewise in Latin in the Cotton Library.

109. *Pro amplexando evangelio*, lib. 1. *Orant Christiani reverenter ac devote*. This is likewise in the same collection

of Dr. Wiclif's English tracts, with this title, *How religious Men shulde kepe certain Articles*, and begins thus:

“ Christen men preien mekely and devoutly to Almighty
“ God, that he grant his grace for his endless mercy to our
“ Religious both Possessioners and Mendicants, that they
“ assenten to these few truths.”

110. *Pro egentibus Presbyteris*, lib. 1. *Sunt causæ quæ urgeant pauperiores*. This tract is likewise in the same collection, with this title, *Why poor Priests have no Benefice*, and beginning thus: “ Some causes menen some
“ poor Priests to receive not benefices.”

In the same collection are the following English tracts, which I do not find that Bishop Bale ever saw.

111. *A short rule of life for eche man in general, and for priests, and lords, and labourers in special how eche shall be saved in his degree*. It begins thus: “ First, when thou
“ risest or fully wakest, think on the goodness of thy God,
“ how for his own goodness, and none other nede, he made
“ all things of nought, both angels and men, and all other
“ creatures good in their kind.”

112. *The Ave Maria*. — “ Hail be thou Mary full
“ of grace.” — There follows a short explanation of it.

113. *How Satanas and his children turnen works of mercy upon Sodom and deceyven men therein, and in their five witts*. It thus begins: “ First, Christ commandeth men of
“ power to feed hungry poor men; the fend and his techen
“ to make costly feasts, and waste many goods on lords
“ and rich men, and to suffer poor men starve and perish
“ for hunger and other mischiefs.”

114. *How Satanas and his priests, and his feyned Religious casten by three cursed heresies to destroy all good living, and meyntening all manner of sin*. It begins thus:
“ As Almighty God in Trinity ordeineth men to come to the
“ bliss of heaven by three grounds by knowing the Trinity;
“ by sad faith, by true keeping of God's hests, and by per-
“ fit charity and endless: so Sathanas and his worldly
“ Clerks, and his feyned Religious full of sotil hypocrisy
“ casten to destroy all vertuous life, and justice, and meyn-

CHAP. IX. *“ tene all manner of sin by these three cursed grounds; the
 “ first is, that holy Writ is false; the second, that it is
 “ lefull and medeful to lie; the third, that it is agenst
 “ charity to cry openly agenst Prelates sins, and other
 “ mighty mens.”*

115. *For three skills lords shulden constrain Clerks to
 live in mekeness, wilfull poverty, and discreet penance and
 ghostly traveile. It begins thus: “ Open teching of God’s
 “ law old and new, open ensample of Christ’s life, and his
 “ glorious Apostles, of love to God, dread of pains and
 “ God’s curse, and hope of great reward in the bliss of hea-
 “ ven, shulden stirr all Priests and Religious to live in
 “ grete mekeness, and wilfull poverty of the Gospel, and
 “ discreet penance and traveile to stop pride, covetisse, and
 “ fleshly lusts, and idleness of worldly men, and renne fast
 “ to heaven by right way of God’s commandments, and to
 “ forsake trust and wealth of this false world, and all man-
 “ ner falsness thereof, for the end of this false worldly life,
 “ is bitter death, and strong pains of hell in body and soul
 “ withouten end.”*

116. *Of wedded men and wives, and of their children also.
 It begins thus: “ Our Lord God Almighty speketh in his law
 “ of tweie matrimones or wedlocks, the first is ghostly ma-
 “ trimony betwixt Christ and holy Church, that is Christen
 “ souls ordeyned to bliss; the second matrimony is bodily or
 “ ghostly between man and woman by just consent after
 “ God’s law.”*

117. *Of good preching Priests. It begins thus: “ The first
 “ general point of poor priests that prechen in England is
 “ this, that the law of God be well known, taught, meyn-
 “ tened, magnified; the second, that the great open sin that
 “ regneth in diverse states be destroyed, and also heresie
 “ and hypocrisie of Antichrist and his followers: the third,
 “ that very peace, prosperity and brenning charity be en-
 “ creased in Christendom, and namely in the rewme of
 “ England, for to bring men readily to the bliss of
 “ heaven.”*

118. *Augustinus.—Arguam te quando nescis. It*

begins thus: "*The holy Doctor St. Austin, speaking in* CHAP.
the person of Christ unto sinfull man, seith in this wise; IX.
I shall reprove thee, and in what manner and when
thou wenest not I shall reprove thee."

119. *The great sentence of curse expounded.* It thus begins: "*First, all hereticks agenst the faith of holy Writt*
ben cursed solemnly four times in the year, and also
meyntenours and consenters to heresie or hereticks in
their errour." This tract is divided into twenty-nine chapters, and contains ninety-nine pages and a half in 4to.

120. Among the writings of Wiclif mentioned by Æneas Sylvius and Leland is named one, entitled, *De realibus universalibus*; which I suppose to be the same with the tract in Trinity College in Cambridge, 326. 8. with this title, *De ente universali, et attributis Divinis.*

121. *De Prelatis, et eorum officio*, lib. 1. *Quod prælati desinant Evangelium prædicare.* See No. 76.

122. *Commentarii vulgares*, lib. 1. *Stabat Johannes, et ex discipulis.*

123. *De Ecclesia Catholica*, lib. 1. *Sunt Sacerdotes qui certis rationibus.*

124. *De mandatis Divinis*, lib. 1. *Præmissa sententia de Domino.*

125. *De contrarietate duorum dominorum*, lib. 1. *Sicut est unus, verus et summus.*

126. *Ostiolum Wiclevi*, lib. 1. *Obsecro vos fratres per Dominum.* This little tract was printed at Norenburgh, 1546, with this title, *Wyckliffes Wycket, whyche he made in King Richard's days the Seconde, in the yere of our Lorde God 1395.* It begins thus: "*I beseche ye,* A. D. 1381.
brethren in the Lorde Christ Jesu, and for the love of
hys Spirit to praye with me."

127. *De ministrorum conjugio*, lib. 1. *Fuit in diebus Herodis sacerdos.*

128. *De religiosis privatis*, lib. 1. *Omnes Christiani in spiritus fervore.*

129. *De perverso Antichristi dogmate*, lib. 1. *Cum puri concionatores doceant Dei verbum.*

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130. *Conciones de morte*, lib. 1. *Beati qui in Domino moriuntur.*

131. *De peccatis fugiendis*, lib. 1. *Dum fides nos doceat malum quodlibet.*

132. *De vita sacerdotum*, lib. 1. *Hoc de fratribus periculum ultimo.* A copy of this tract, which is written in English, is in the Bodleian Library, Archiv. A. 3072. 3. It begins thus: "*This peril of Freris is the last of eight that* "*falles to men in this way.*—"

133. *De fide Eucharistiæ*, lib. 1. *Credo ut Christus et Apostoli docuerunt.* See No. 16. It is a half sheet in English, and begins thus: "*We beleve as Crist and his* "*Apostolus han tauht us.*"

134. *De ablatis restituendis*, lib. 1. *Quæritur 1º utrum omnium rerum.*

135. *De excommunicatis solvendis*, lib. 1. *Quoniam sub pœna excommunicationis.*

No. 160. 136. *Confessio derelicti pauperis*, lib. 1. *Iste tractatus a paupere indigente.* A copy of this English tract is in Lamhith library, and begins thus: "*This treatiise compilid of* "*a poor caitif and nedi of gostly help of alle Cristen* "*peple, bi the grete help and merci of God shalle teche* "*symple men and wymen of good wil the right way to* "*hevene, yf they wole bisie hem to have it in mynde and* "*worche yerafter*.*" This tract is the first in two volumes of several tracts of Dr. Wiclif's, whose titles and beginnings are as follow.

* Bib. Pub.
Cantab. No.
467. entit.
Codex Mis-
cell. Ang.
No. 466.
12º. entit.
The Poor
Caitiff's
Treatise.

Biblioth.
Sancti Jo-
annis Coll.
G. 28. entit.
Wiclif's Ex-
position on
the Cate-
chism.

2. *Of bileve*; it begins: "*The ground of al goodnes is* "*stidefaste feith eithir bileve.*"—This seems to be the same with that which Bishop Bale calls, *In symbolum fidei*. No. 152.

3. Here bigynneth the *prolog of the Ten Comaundementis*. "*A man askyde of Crist what he schulde do* "*to have the lyf that ever shal last.*—Here bigyn- "*neth the Ten Commandmentis of God, Exod. xx.*"

4. *The charge of the X. Heestis*. "*These ben the ten* "*Heestis of God, aftir the whiche it bihoveth alle* "*men and women to rule her liif.*—"

5. *The Prolog on the Pater noster.* “Crist seith CHAP. IX.
 “who that loveth hym schal kepe hys command-
 “mentis, and thei that kepen hem ben hise frendis,
 “as he seith hymself in another place, and he wole
 “here hys frendis.”
6. Here bigynneth a devout praier of our Lord Jesu MS. Can-
 tab.No.467.
Criste. “O thou hie, increat, and everlasting Tri-
 “nitie, that is to sei, Almighty God the Fadir, Al-
 “myghti God the Son, Almyghti God the Hooli
 “Goost.”
7. Here bigynneth the *Magnificat.*
8. Here bigynneth a *Letanie* of our Ladi that St.
 Anselm made. “Lord have merci upon me.”
9. Here bigynneth the *Myrrour of Synners.* “For
 “that we ben in the weye of this falinge lyf, and
 “our dayes passen.” This Bishop Bale calls *speculum peccatoris*, No. 101.
10. Here bigynneth a tretys that speketh of the *three*
arrows that schulden be schet at Domys day to
hem that schulden be dampnyd. Deut. xxxii. This
 seems to be the same tract that Bishop Bale calls
De tribus sagittis, No. 100.
11. A good tretys of *Si quis vult venire post me.* Council of
 Crist. MS.
 St. John's.
 “Crist not compellynge, but freli councellynge eche
 “man to purfyte lyf, seith thus; If ony man wole
 “come aftir me, denye he himsilf——.”
12. A good tretys of *patience.* “But who that is ve- Of vertuous
 Patience.
 Ibid.
 “rili fed with thilke breed that came down from
 “hevene——.”
13. A good tretys of *temptation.* “Whane you are
 “temtyd, either troublid, have mynde of thilke re-
 “medi that our Saviour seith in his Gospel, Wake
 “yee and praie yee.”
14. A good tretys of a notable chartre of pardon of The Chartre
 of Heven.
 Ibid.
 our Lord Jesu Crist. “Everi wise man that
 “cleymeth his eritage, either askyth grete pardon,
 “kepeth bisili, and hathe oft mynde upon the
 “chartre of his challenge.”

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Of goostli
Bateile.
The Name
of Jhesu.

15. A noble tretys of *the soul and flesche*. “*Al-*
“*mighti God seith by holi Job, that alle mans lyf*
“*upon erthe is fatige.*”

16. A noble trete *de nomine Jesu*. “*Whoever thou*
“*be that arraiest thee for to love God.*”

17. A principal trete of *the love of Jesu*. “*O onli*
“*Lord be to my feery as loves bi dey and bi*
“*nyght.*”

Of very
Meeknes.

18. *Of very mekenes*. “*To ony degre of very love of*
“*Jesu may no soul atteyne but if he be verili meke.*”

The Effect
of Wille.
MS. St.
John's.

19. *Of wille, and of despysinge, and of veyne glorie*.
“*Every dede praisable or reprovabale of mannes*
“*wille, it hath either praisinge either reprovinge.*”

20. *De actyf lyf and contemplatyf*. “*Crist lovid*
“*myche Marie and Martha her sister, as the Gos-*
“*pel tellith—.*”

The Prolog
of the Myr-
ror of Chas-
tite, i. e.
Mirrour of
Maidens,
&c.

21. *Fyve chapitris to hem that wold lyve chaste*. “*I*
“*wryte this treatys in fyve schort chapteris to hem*
“*that wolen lyve chaast, in token of the fyve most*
“*scharpe stones, the which in figure K. David*
“*chees out of rennyng river to overcome with the*
“*gyant Golie.*”

Here eendith this book that is clepid *The Pore Caitif*.

A tretys of foure errours.

The myrrour of synners.

Myrrour of matrimonye.

De Script.
vernacul.
4^o. p. 160.
Bibl. Bodl.
Arch. A.
3849. c. 21.

137. *Speculum secularium dominorum*, lib. 1. *Cum ve-*
ritas fidei eo plus rutilet. Archbishop Usher tells us that
a copy of this tract is in MS. in the King's library, in La-
tin. By what his Grace has transcribed from it, it appears
that Dr. Wiclif had written before, *Prospeculum secula-*
rium dominorum, in English.

138. *De servitute civili*, lib. 1. *Cum secundum philoso-*
phos sit relativorum.

139. *Speculum cleri per dialogum*, lib. 1. *Sed adhuc ar-*
guitur si clerus sic.

140. *Joannes a rure contra fratres*, lib. 1. *Ego Joannes*
a rure Deum verum precor.

141. *De ordine sacerdotali*, lib. 1. *Quia presbyterorum ordo instituitur.*

142. *De non saginandis sacerdotibus*, lib. 1. *Cavete qui sacerdotes ocio sustinetis.*

143. *De seductione simplicium*, lib. 1. *Septem sunt quibus decipiuntur simplices.* See No. 77.

144. *Dæmonum astus in subvertenda religione*, lib. 1. *Ut omnipotens Deus homines disponit —*

145. *Cogendi sacerdotes ad honestatem*, lib. 1. *Apertam eruditionem in Dei lege.*

146. *De falsatoribus legis divinæ*, lib. 1. *Postquam interpretes subdoli legem.*

147. *De Pontificum Romanorum schismate*, lib. 1. *Ob inauditas lites inter hos duos.* Vide No. 63.

148. *De ultima ætate Ecclesiæ*, lib. 1. *Sacerdotes, proh dolor! versantes in vitiis.* This tract is in the collection before mentioned, in Trinity College library near Dublin, and thus begins: "*Alass for sorwe great Priests sitting in darkness.*"

149. *De Sathanæ astu contra fidem*, lib. 1. *Media multa diabolus quærit.* This tract is in the same collection, and beginneth thus: "*The fend seeketh many ways to mar men in belief.*"

150. *Ad ducem Glocestriæ contra fraterculum*, lib. 1. *Illustris ac generose Domine.* This tract is in the same collection, and begins thus: "*Most worshipful and gentlest Lord Duke of Glocester.*"

151. *De ocio et mendicitate*, lib. 1. *A manuum labore excusantur fratres.*

152. *In symbolum fidei*, lib. 1. *Certum est fidem esse omnium virtutum.*

153. *Compendium X. Præceptorum*, lib. 1. *Cujuscunque conditionis fuerint homines.*—In the Bodleian Library⁹ is a tract with this title, *Compendium X. Mandatorum editum a Magistro Jo. Wicliffe Doctore Evangelicæ veritatis.*

154. *Super salutatione angelica*, lib. 1. *Solent homines Christiparam salutare.*

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155. ^b *De operibus corporalibus*, lib. 1. *Si certus esset homo quod in —*

156. *De spiritualibus operibus*, lib. 1. *Quia paræcianos spiritualibus.*

157. *Ad simplices sacerdotes*, Epist. 1. *Videtur meritum bonos colere.*

158. *Ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariæ*, ep. 1. *Venerabilis in Christo Pater.*

159. *Ad quinque questiones*, lib. 1. *Quidam fidelis in Domino quærit.*

The following tracts Bishop Bale seems never to have seen, but to have collected their titles from such writings as quoted them.

160. *De fide et perfidia*, lib. 2.

Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
206.

161. *De sermone Domini in monte*, lib. 3. Wood says it contains lib. 4.

162. *Grammaticæ tropi*, lib. 1.

163. *Abstractiones logicales*, lib. 1.

164. *Logica de aggregatis*, lib. 1.

165. *De universo reali*, lib. 1.

166. *De formis idealibus*, lib. 1.

167. *De esse in suo prolixo*, lib. 1.

168. *De esse intelligibili creaturæ*, lib. 1.

169. *Summa intellectualium*, lib. 1.

170. *De arte sophistica*, lib. 3.

171. *De fonte errorum*, lib. 1.

172. *Distinctiones rerum theologicarum*, lib. 1.

173. *Theologiæ placita*, lib. 1.

174. *De incarnatione Verbi*, lib. 1. This tract is in the King's library, E. 270, fol. and begins thus: "*Prælibato tractatu De Anima, restat De Benedicta Incarnatione et dividitur in 13 cap^a. Primum declarat quod Christus est summa humanitatis et per consequens creatura. Secundum, quod hæc sententia discrepat ab heresy Ariana.*"——

175. *De iv. sectis novellis*, lib. 1.

176. *Super impositis articulis*, lib. 1.

^b Lamhith Library, 4to. 160. in English. See p. 153.

177. *De humanitate Christi*, lib. 1.
178. *Supplementum Trialogi*.
179. *Ordinaria Laicorum*, lib. 1.
180. *De trino amoris vinculo*, lib. 1.
181. *Constitutiones Ecclesiæ*, lib. 1.
182. *Contra Concilium terræ motus*, lib. 1.
183. *Lectiones in Daniele*, lib. 1.
184. *Scholia Scripturarum*, lib. 1.
185. *De solutione Satanæ*, lib. 1.
186. *Concordantiæ doctorum*, lib. 1.
187. *De statuendis pastoribus per plebem*, lib. 1.
188. *De spiritu quolibet*, lib. 1.
189. *Omnis plantatio*, lib. 1.
190. *Si quis sitit*, lib. 1.
191. *Christus alius non expectandus*, lib. 1.
192. *De confessione Latinorum*, lib. 1.
193. *De Christianorum baptismo*, lib. 1.
194. *De clavibus regni Dei*, lib. 1.
195. *De clavium potestate*, lib. 1.
196. *De insolubilibus*, lib. 1.
197. *Quæstiones logicales*, lib. 1.
198. *De universalibus*, lib. 1.

199. *De blasphemia*, lib. 1. Archbishop Usher quotes P.38. ed. fol. this tract in his book *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione*; and tells us that in it Dr. Wiclif observes, that the true doctrine of the Sacrament of the Eucharist was retained in the Church a thousand years, "even till the loosening of Satan."

200. *De Apostasia*, lib. 1.
201. *De homine misero*, lib. 1.
202. *De immortalitate animæ*, lib. 1.
203. *Contra Cruciatum Papæ*, lib. 1.
204. *De fide Evangelii*, lib. 1.
205. *De legibus et veneno*, lib. 1.
206. *De paupertate Christi*, lib. 1.
207. *Collectiones contra Dominicanos*, lib. 1.
208. *Quæstiones XXVI.* lib. 1. Query, whether this be not the same with the little tract in 8vo. entitled, *De que-*

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stionibus variis contra Clerum? It begins thus: "Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est quod est Christum Ihesum. *Almighty God the Trinite, Fadir, Sone, and Holy Gooste, both in the olde lawe and the newe, hath foundid his Chirche upon the statis awnswerynge or accordyng to thes thre Persones and ther propertes.*" At the end of this tract "*suen authorities of holy Scripture and holy Doctors, in Latyn, agens the secular lordeship of Prestis.*"

209. *De physica naturali*, lib. 1.

210. *De intentione physica*, lib. 1.

211. *De una communis generis essentia*, lib. 1.

212. *De essentia accidentium*, lib. 1.

213. *De necessitate futurorum*, lib. 1.

214. *De materia cælestium*, lib. 1.

215. *De temporis quidditate*, lib. 1.

216. *De temporis ampliacione*, lib. 1.

217. *Metaphysica vulgaris*, lib. 1.

218. *Metaphysica novella*, lib. 1.

219. *De centro infiniti*, lib. 1.

220. *Glossæ Scripturarum*, lib. 1.

221. *Glossa novella*, lib. 1.

222. *Glossæ vulgares*, lib. 1.

223. *Glossæ manuales*, lib. 1.

224. *Responsiones argumentorum*, lib. 1.

225. *Ad rationes Kyningham*, lib. 1. This seems to be the same with the MS. in C. C. C. in Cambridge, entitled, *Determinationes Magistri Joannis Wicklyff contra Carmelitam Kylingham*. It consists of three parts, the first of which begins thus: "*Tres sunt methodi in queis ego cum aliis.*"

Leland de
Script. Brit.
p. 386.

This John Kyningham or Kilingham or Cunningham was a Carmelite Friar, and Provincial of the Order in England and Ireland. But what added to his reputation was, his being often used by John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster for his confessor. He was one of the first who opposed Dr. Wiclif, and is said to have published three books against him. In 1382 he preached at the church of the Preaching Friars, London, at the close of the procession ordered by

Knighton
de Event.
Angliæ. fol.
2650.

the Archbishop to be made after his condemnation of the Conclusions said to be maintained by Dr. Wiclif and his followers. At this sermon we are told was present among others a knight named Cornelius Cloune, who was a great favourer of the Conclusions now condemned, and one of those who held and taught them; nor would he for any thing believe otherwise of the Sacrament of the Altar than that there was true material bread, according to the opinion of Wiclif. The next day, *viz.* the Vigil of the Holy Trinity, this knight went to the same convent to hear mass, which was celebrated by one of the students of the convent. When at the breaking of the Host casting his eye upon it, he saw in the hands of the Friar that celebrated, very flesh, raw and bloody, and divided into three parts. The knight, full of wonder and amazement, as well he might be, called his squire that he might see it, but he saw nothing more than usual. But the knight in the third piece, which ought likewise to be put into the chalice, in the middle of it saw this name IHESUS written in letters of flesh all raw and bloody, which, the relater observes, was very wonderful to behold. And the next day, the feast of the Holy Trinity, the same Friar preaching at Paul's Cross, told this story to all the people, which, after sermon was done, the knight attested the truth of, promising that he would fight and die in that cause, for that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very body of Christ, and not bread only, as he himself before believed. Such were the artifices of those at that time who zealously defended the Popish doctrine; under the sham pretence of a miraculous conviction and conversion to give authority to their delusions among the common people.

226. *Contra Bynhamum monachum*, lib. 1. This William Leland de Binham was a monk, but of what order is uncertain. He Leland de Script. Brit. p. 381. was very observant of the rites and ceremonies then in use, and therefore resented Dr. Wiclif's attempt to reform them. But he was by no means a match for Wiclif, who was his superior in learning, and more than his equal in the subtilty and quickness of disputation, and in the force of

CHAP. his language. However this Monk's opposition gave Dr.
IX. Wiclif an occasion to shew his learning and abilities.
Tum vero apparuit, quid Whitoclivus possit in literis præ-
stare.

227. *Ad xiv. argumenta Strode*, lib. 1. His name was Ralph Strode, who was brought up in the monastery of Dryburgh in Teviotdale, and studied for some time at Oxford, where about the year 1378 he seems to have published these fourteen arguments in opposition to Dr. Wiclif.

228. *Contra monachum de Sancto Albano*, lib. 1. This Monk's name was Simon Southrey, who wrote against the confession that Wiclif made of his opinion of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

229. *Contra Petrum Stokes Carmelitam*, lib. 1. This was the Friar who was ordered by the Archbishop to publish the condemnation of the Conclusions at the Preaching Friars in Oxford; and who opposed Dr. Repyndon, who is said to have affirmed, that "he who does not pray for the secular Lords before he prays for the Bishops or even the Pope, acts contrary to the commands of Scripture." By which we may see that what Mr. Lesley advanced in his late Case of the Pontificate and Regale concerning the Bishops and Clergy being to be prayed for before their Sovereign and the royal family, was only a revival of a Popish tenet, suited to the pride and arrogancy of the Pope and his Clergy.

230. *Contra monachum Dunelmensem*, lib. 1. This Monk was Ughtred Bolton, who wrote several tracts against Dr. Wiclif, viz. *De Eucharistia; Pro dotatione Ecclesiæ; De non auferendis Ecclesiæ possessionibus ministris abutentibus.*

231. *Replicationes et positiones*, lib. 1.

232. *De bullis papalibus*, lib. 1.

233. *De defectione a Christo*, lib. 1.

234. *De quintuplici Evangelio*, lib. 1.

235. *De quaternario Doctorum*, lib. 1.

236. *De quidditate hostiæ consecratæ*, lib. 1.

237. *De ordine Christiano*, lib. 1.
 238. *De ritibus sacramentorum*, lib. 1.
 239. *Positiones variæ*, lib. 1.
 240. *De veritate et mendacio*, lib. 1.
 241. *De prævaricatione præceptorum*, lib. 1.
 242. *Dialogorum suorum* lib. 1.
 243. *De vera innocentia*, lib. 1.
 244. *De unico salutis agno*, lib. 1.
 245. *De vii. donis Spiritus Sancti*, lib. 1.
 246. *De fide sacramentorum*, lib. 1.
 247. *De sacerdotio Christi*, lib. 1.
 248. *De sacerdotio Levitico*, lib. 1.
 249. *Determinationes quædam*, lib. 1.
 250. *De præscito ad beatitudinem*, lib. 1.
 251. *De unitate Christi*, lib. 1.

Besides these, there are mentioned among the books of Dr. Wiclif examined by the Oxford Delegates A. D. 1411,

252. *De dotatione Cæsarea*. Vide No. 51.
 253. *De Confessione*.
 254. *De versutiis pseudocleri*.
 255. *Responsio ad argumenta monachi de Salley*.
 256. Five bodily wittis. “Thus shulde a man rule
 “his five bodily wits.” Trin. Coll.
 Cam. B. 8.
 37.
 257. * Seven werkis of } “The seven werkis of Pub. Libr.
 bodily mercy. } “mercy shulde a man use and Cam. 120.
 258. * Seven deedis of } “do to pore nedi men, ther- No. 467.
 goostly mercy. } “with wynee Goddis mercy, * See No.
 “lasting withouten end.” 155, 156.
 259. Of the seven deadly } “Sith byleve teches us Bodl. Ar-
 sins. } “that everiche yvel is only chiv. A. 83.
 “synne, or comes of synne: Titus, D.
 “synne schulde be fled as XIX.
 “al manour of yvel.” In King’s Libr.
 the Cotton library is a A. 67.
 tract in English, with this
 title, and begins thus: “Si-
 “then men ben bisie nigt and

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Cotton Lib.
Titus, D.
XIX. 25.

260. Of pride.

261. *Observationes piæ*
in X. Præcepta.——

262. *De xii. impedimen-*
tis orationis.

* Sic MS.

“ day to kepe hem fro her
“ bodile enemyes both for
“ drede of deth and lesyng
“ of worldly goodis; myche
“ more shulde iche man be
“ bisie to kepe him fro his
“ goostly enemies that ben
“ mych more worse and more
“ perilous for drede of deeth
“ of soule, and lesyng of
“ spiritual goodes that ben
“ without comparison myche
“ better.”

“ Pride is to mucche love
“ that man hath to himself,
“ and to much hienes.”——

“ A prolog of the Com-
“ mandments, where is any
“ man now a days that
“ askey hou I shal love
“ God, and myn even Cristen
“ I shal fle synne, and serve
“ God truly as a true Cristen
“ man shulde?—God spake
“ alle these wordis, I am thi
“ Lord God that led thee
“ out of the land of Egypt,
“ and out of the hous of
“ thraldome.”

“ The twelve lettings of
“ prayer, which thorow men
“ * mon know the better
“ whi men ben herde in her
“ praier of God.—The fyrst
“ letting of preyer is the
“ synne of him that prey-
“ eth ——.”

263. *De X. Mandatis
compendiosius.*

*“ These X. Heestis spake
“ God to Moyses in the hil
“ of Synay: I am the Lord
“ thi God that led thee out
“ of the land of Egypt, out
“ of the house of * servace, *thraldome.
“ Thou shalt not have aliane
“ Goddis before me.”*

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264. *De cardinalibus vir-
tutibus.*

*“ Prudens, rigtuisnes,
“ temperance, and strength,
“ by these shulde alle mennys
“ life ben ruled.”*

265. *De tribus gratiis.*

*“ Feyth is both of good
“ thing and of evil.”—*

266. *De actubus animæ.*

** “ Gratia dicendarum re-
“ stat tractatus de actubus,
“ potentiis, inclinationibus
“ et habitibus animæ.”*

* C. C. C.
Cambridge,
fol.K.394.2.
See Whar-
ton's App.
to Cave's
Hist. Liter.
vol. i. p. 54.

267. *Expositio orationis
Dominicæ.*

268. *De vii. donis Spiri-
tus Sancti.*

*“ Wisdom, understonding,
“ councel,——”*

269. *De vii. sacramentis.*

*“ Baptism, confirmation,
“ penaunce, the sacrid oost
“ of the auter, order, wed-
“ lock, and anelyng.”*

270. *De natura fidei.*

271. *De diversis gradibus
charitatis.*

272. *Comment. in selec-
ta S. Scripturæ loca An-
glice.*

Ibid.

273. Here begynnith the
nine vertues that Crist ap-
paring to a devout man,
commaunding him to knowe
and to use hem.

*“ Alle manner of men
“ schulde holde Goddis bid-
“ dyngis, for without hold-
“ yng of hem may no man
“ be saved.”*

King's Libr.
E. 1732.

274. Here bigynneth the

“ The firste is feith, for

CHAP. IX. three good vertues that Poul
clepith feith, hope, and cha-
rite.—

275. Six maneris consente
to synne.

276. Four thinges that
neden to man.

277. *Væ vobis Scribæ et
Pharisæi hypocritæ*, Matth.
xxiii.—

Ibid. A. 67. 278. Exposition on the
Decalogue.

E. Codd.
MSS. Joh.
Seldeni.
Arch. B. 10. 279. *Epistola Magistri
Johannis Wycliff sub ignoto
nomine edita ad provocan-
dum alios theologos in suis
questionibus sibi adquies-
cere.*

280. *Determinatio de do-
minio contra unum mona-
chum.*

Codd. Ric.
Jamesii.
Bibl. Bod. 281. A trete of three.

282. Of the seven sacra-
mentis.

“it is grounde of alle other
“vertues.”

“The helpere, the defen-
“dere, the auctour, the coun-
“celour, the withdrawer of
“help whan he migte helpe
“it.”—

“The firste is, that he
“must understonden the
“worde of God, and bi his
“lawe he must be ruled.”

“Crist biddith us bewar
“with false profetis that
“come in clothing of
“scheepe.”

“These ben the Ten Com-
“mandementis of God, with-
“oute kepyng of hem that
“may no man be saved.”

“Cum secundum Aposto-
“lum ad Heb. xi. fides sit
“fundamentum Christianæ
“religionis.”

“Inter alia Doctor meus
“reverendus intromittit se
“de Jure Regni Angliæ vi-
“tiando Jus idem ut videtur
“multum implicate et expli-
“cite.”

“Three thingis distrien
“this world, fals confes-
“sours, fals men of lawe,
“and fals marchauntes.”

“We ben taugt that no
“man hath power to my-

“ nistre hem to the puple, CHAP.
 “ but if he be a Preest, saaf IX.
 “ tyme of nede.”

283. *Of wedlock.*

284. *The lif of the Virgin Marie.*

These little pieces seem to be only extracts from books on these subjects.

In the library of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge is a MS. collection of tracts said to be Dr. Wiclif's. It is a pretty large quarto of two hundred and seven pages, and on the first leaf of it is pasted this memorandum in a different hand from that of the MS. itself. “ These sermons
 “ underwrytten are published by the learned Clerke Mr.
 “ Wiclyffe, wherein although there be some things not alto-
 “ gether agreable to the great light which it hath pleased
 “ God to reveale unto us at this present tyme, yet let us
 “ not condemne the author who hath bestowed his talent
 “ according to the measure which he hath receved in such
 “ sorte, that it is to be feared that when the tyme of ac-
 “ compts——come, he shall be * . . ferred before those
 “ * * * * .”

* pre-

The tracts follow.

1. *Sermons, or Homilies*, the same with those already mentioned, No. 12. only this collection begins with the fragment of an Homily on Whitsunday.

2. *An Exposition on the Lord's Prayer*; without any title. It begins: “ *To his dere sustre in God, Goddes*
 “ *honde mayden and hys spouse gretying in hym, and*
 “ *lyking in hys merci and his pees throwe myght of hys*
 “ *grace, he be with thee ever, and wyth all ye that with*
 “ *soche fast byleve certeyn hope haven in hym. Amen.*”
 Then follows a preface, setting forth the peculiar dignity and excellence of the Lord's Prayer above all other prayers, which thus begins: “ *Dere sustre the more that mon hath*
 “ *understondynge of ryght wysnesse, and the openlyer*
 “ *that he knoweth the goode, the more lyking he hath, and*
 “ *the more he hyt loveth.*” Then follows a large comment on each distinct petition.

CHAP.
IX.

3. *Wymbledon's Sermon on Luc xvi. 2.* The same with No. 93.

4. *Sic incipiunt decem mandata Dei.* It thus begins: "Cristene childur in God! sethen the servyse and the wurchep of God is so nedeful, and wurchep of God stondeth in the kepyng of the commandements; therefore, throw the grace of God, I wol tel you the Commandements."——

5. *An homily on these words; "Heyl Marie ful of grace, the Lord is with thee," &c.* The same with No. 112, with some small variation.

6. *An imperfect discourse on Ysa. ix. 6. Puer natus est nobis.* It thus begins: "Ye schulen undirstonde by the sentence of holy Doctors, that ther ben seven causes whi that this child our Lord Jhesus Crist Gode Sone of hevene toke flech and blod."——

7. *An homili on Mat. xxii. 37. Diliges Dominum Deum tuum.* It thus begins: "The helpe and the grace of God that is Almyghty, helpe us alle at this tyme and worlde withoute ende. Amen."

8. *Estote prudentes, et vigilate in orationibus.* Begins; "The helpe and the grace to gode men and wymen en uche Cristen mon is holden to here Goddes worde."

9. *Sana, Domine, animam meam quia peccavi tibi. Psal. xl.* "Gode Cristen men and wymen, thre causes moven me for to preche unto you."

10. *Hodie oportet me in domo manere, Luc. xix.* "The helps and the grace.——In the begynninge with Goddes grace I purpose me to teche you the bydeynge of God."——

11. *Mortuus vivet. Joh. xi.* "Vere frendes in God, as St. Anselm saythe in his sentence, of all thynges that men mowe do for the * dede, the fyrst and the principal is, to preye for hem, and helpe hem in her nedefulnesse."

12. *Dominical v. post Fest. S. Trinitat. Primum sanctificate in cordibus vestris, 1 Pet. iii.* "The Gospel of this day tellith when that much peple schulde wende unto Jhesu."——

* dead.

13. *Amemus panes*, Jo. vi. et in *Evangelio hodierno*. CHAP.
 “Ye schulden understonde that by bred in holi Wrytt is IX.
 “understonden alle that ever falleth to a monne’s lyf-
 “lode.”

In the library of Magdalen College in Oxford is a MS. No. 99. with this title, *Index rerum in operibus Wickl. contentarum sive de rebus*.——To it is prefixed the following note.

“*Notand.* Magister Johannes W—— inter alia sua
 “scripta mirifica quatuor libellos edidit in eodem volu-
 “mine. Quorum duos primos scripsit super tria capitula
 “Matthei, scilicet super 5^m, 6^m, et 7^m, quorum primus in-
 “cipit, *Videns Jhesus turbas*, &c. et intitulatur hoc opus
 “specialiter, *De sermone Domini in monte*. Et tertium li-
 “bellum scripsit super alia tria capitula Matthei, sc. super
 “23, 24, et 29, quorum primus incipit, *Super cathedram*
 “*Moysi* &c. et intitulatur *De Antichristo*. Quartum li-
 “bellum scripsit super quinque capitula Johannis, sc. super
 “13 cum quatuor sequentibus, quorum primus incipit,
 “*Ante diem festum pasche*.——”

This book, allowing for the several abbreviations peculiar to that age, is handsomely written upon vellum, and consists of near fourscore leaves in folio.

But though all or most of these books or tracts are ascribed to Dr. Wiclif, it is pretty plain he was not the author of them all. In King Richard the Second’s proclamation A. D. 1388, there are mentioned, besides Dr. Wiclif, Master Nicholas Hereford, Master John Aston, and John Purney, as writers of books, little books, and pamphlets, both in English and Latin. But Dr. Wiclif being the most noted and eminent, several books, though written by others, seem to be reckoned *his*.

CHAP. X.

An account of the principal persons who favoured Dr. Wiclif and his opinions.

MS. Hyper. Bodl. 163. Knighton de Event. Angliæ, c. 2663.

ALTHOUGH Dr. Wiclif met with so many and such powerful adversaries, insomuch that it is really wonderful that “so valiant a champion for the truth should continue “so long secure among so many tyrants of Sodom,” as they are styled by an anonymous writer: yet he had his friends and patrons, who espoused his cause, and took his part. He was, as has been already observed, in great favour with the common people. “The number of those “who believed in his doctrine,” Knighton tells us, “very “much increased, and like suckers growing out of the “root of a tree, were multiplied; and every where filled “the compass of the kingdom: insomuch that a man “could not meet two people on the road, but one of them “was a disciple of Wiclif’s. So far,” says he, “had they “prevailed, that they had got over to their sect the greater “part of the people. For that they always pretended in “all their discourses a great respect for the law of God, “or, as they expressed themselves, *Goddis law*, to which “they professed themselves to be strictly conformable in “both their opinions and all their actions. By which “means,” Knighton says, “a great many well meaning “people were deluded, and brought to be of their sect, “lest they should seem to be enemies to the law of God, “and the Divine precepts.”

Sir Thomas More’s Eng. Works, p. 915. col. 2.

Such a representation of the great increase of those they called heretics, a later writer of the Romish Church thinks very impolitic, as serving only to embolden *them*, and intimidate the Catholics; and therefore he would have it, that the realm was not indeed so full of them as it was noised to be, and that it was a stratagem of theirs thus to boast of their numbers, to damp the spirits of the Catholics, to fear or terrify the Ordinaries, and

put their officers in dread to do their office. But even CHAP. X.
he, that he might make probable the false charge of their
 plotting and raising a rebellion against King Henry V.
 owns, that “these heresies begun by Wiclif in the time of
 “the noble prince King Richard II. and beyng then by English Works, p. 922. col. 1.
 “some folke maintayned, and by many men winked at,
 “and almost by al folke * forslouthed, the peril was so long * disregard-
 ed through
 laziness.
 “neglected, that the heretiques were grown unto a great
 “nombre.”

Of those who thus embraced the opinions of Dr. Wiclif,
 Henry Knighton, carried away with the sentiments of the De Event. c. 2665.
 times in which he lived, speaks very contemptibly, and
 observes, “that they were like their master, too eloquent,
 “and too much for other people in all disputes or con-
 “tentions by word of mouth; being powerful in words,
 “strong in prating, exceeding all in making speeches, and
 “out-talking every body in litigious disputations. Though
 “they were never so lately converted to this sect, they
 “had all,” he said, “one manner of speech, or the same way
 “of talking, and wonderfully agreed in the same opinion.
 “Both men and women immediately commenced teachers
 “of the Gospel in their mother tongue.” Because they
 used to read to those who could not read themselves the
 New Testament in English. “By this means,” Knighton
 adds, “what they could not do by right reason, being
 “armed, as it were, with violence, they supplied by their
 “clamour, and troublesomeness, and big-sounding words.
 “So that they were not the disciples of Christ, humble,
 “courteous, meek, and patient, but were rather suspected
 “to be the disciples of Mahomet, who forbad his followers
 “to argue for his law, but ordered them to take a surer
 “course, *viz.* to defend it with a warlike fortitude, and to
 “fight for it.” He had observed before, in order to expose Ibid. Coll. 2662.
 these poor wretched people, that “the discipline of the
 “Lollards or Wicliffites was quite different from the doc-
 “trine of Christ. For that Christ said, *If any one will*
 “*not hear you, when ye depart out of that house or city,*
 “*shake off the dust of your feet for a testimony against*

CHAP. "them. Whereas the Wicliffites say, *If any one will not*
 X. *hear you, or shall say any thing against you, take the*

"sword and strike him, or wound his reputation with
"a backbiting tongue." But this is much such a perverse
 account of the spirit of Wiclif as has lately been given, by
 those of the same tenets, of the spirit of Martin Luther.
 Had Knighton studied for it, he could not have more
 grossly misrepresented Wiclif than he has done in this *in-*
vective. Though indeed he has shewn but too plainly his
 inclination to blacken and calumniate this great man in
 other instances; otherwise he would never have styled
 the confession of his concerning the Sacrament, a renun-
 ciation of the opinion which he was charged with holding,
 and at the same time have given us the confession itself,
 which expressly confutes this assertion. The writings of Dr.
 Wiclif and his followers which are yet remaining, it is cer-
 tain, breathe a quite different spirit. Thus in the Prologue
 to the translation of the Bible, the author thus bespeaks
 his readers; "*But for God's love ye simple men bethware*
"of pryde, and veyne janglynge, and chydyng in wordis,
"agens proude Clerkis of Scholis, and veyne Religieuse,
"and answeere ye mekely and prudently, to enimies of
"God's lawe, and pray ye heartily for hem, that God for
"hys great mercie geve to hem verie knowing of Scrip-
"turis, and mekeness and charitie. And ever be ye redy
"what man teachith any truth of God, to take that meke-
"ly, and with great thankis to God."

Coll. 2661,
 2662.

The same writer informs us, that "the preachers of
 "Wiclif's opinions used to be guarded by their hearers,
 "armed with sword and target for their defence, that no
 "one might attempt any thing against them or their blas-
 "phemous doctrine, or might dare at any time to contra-
 "dict it." The principal leaders of these were, it seems,
 Sir Thomas Latymer, Sir Lewis Clyfforde, Sir John Pecche,
 Sir Richard * Story, Sir Reginald de Hylton, Sir John
 Trussell, with Dukes and Earls; "who," he says, "had a
 "zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, and sur-
 "rounded these false preachers with a military band, that

* Stury.

“ they might not suffer any *reproaches* or *losses* by the Or- CHAP.
 “ thodox, on account of their profane doctrine.” X.

The first of these, Sir Thomas Latimere, or le Latimer, was son and heir of John le Latimer, of Braybroke, in the county of Northampton. Our great antiquary Sir William Dugdale observed of him, that before his death he became a great penitent for his being a favourer of the Lollards, and one of the heads of their party. To prove this he vouches his last will and testament, in which he styles himself “ a false knight to God.” But it is likewise to be observed, that so far was he, as the usage of the Orthodox then was, from commending his soul to God, the Virgin Mary, and to all saints, that he only “ preies God mekely “ of his grace, that he will take so pore a present as his “ wreechyd soul ys into his mercy through the bisechyng of “ his blessyd Modir and his holy seyntis ;” though it must be confessed in this he somewhat differed from Dr. Wiclif, who opposed our using the saints as our mediators. And then as for his body, he orders it to be buried in the church-yard, and that “ there ben non maner of cost don “ about his beryng, neither in mete, neither in dryngge, “ nor in no other thyng, * but it be to any such one that * unless. “ nedyth it after the law of God ; saue † tweye tapers of † two. “ wax.” Here is no provisions for masses, month-minds, &c.

Sir Lewes Clifford was a younger brother of Sir Thomas de Clifford, and son of Sir Roger de Clifford, of Hert and Hertness in the Bishoprick of Durham. In the 7th Richard II. he was elected one of the Companions of the most noble Order of the Garter. Walsingham tells us, that “ he was seduced by the Lollards, “ but was at length made sensible of his error, and dis- “ covered to the Archbishop of Canterbury their schis- “ matical tenets, to the end it might appear, that he had “ sided with them, not out of malice, but ignorance, and “ the pure simplicity of his heart.” A later writer sup- poses, that the remarkable expressions used by him in his last will and testament are a proof of this, and that he cordially repented of his having joined himself to those hot-

Baronage,
vol.i.p.649.

Dugdale's
Baronage,
vol.i.p.341.

CHAP. headed zealots, as he terms the Wiclifists. But though
X.

he did indeed style himself "fals and traytor to his Lord
" God, and to all the blessed company of heuene, and un-
" worthi to be clepyd a Christen man," and therefore or-
dered his "wrechid careyne," as he called his dead body,
"to be beryed in the ferthest corner of the chirchegherd,
" and that on it be neyther leyd cloth of gold ne of silk,
" but a blacke clothe, and a taper at his hede and another
" at his fete, and that ne stone ne other thinge whereby

* know.

" any man may * witt where his stinking careyne liggeth ;"
yet it deserves to be remarked, that he "recommended his
" wrechid and synfule soule *hooly* to the grace and to the
" grete mercy of the blessed Trynytie," not to God, the
Virgin Mary, and all saints, as the common usage of the
Orthodox then was ; and that he ordered no masses or
month-minds, unless we can suppose them included in the
following clause : "and to that Chirche do myne execu-

† ought.

" tors all thingis which † owen duly in such caas to be don,
" without eny more cost, saaf to pore men." He died, as
appears by the probate of this will, sometime before De-

6 Hen. IV. cember 1404.

Sir John Pecche, or Peche, was son and heir of Sir John
Peche, Knight, of Wormleighton in Warwickshire, who
was Warden of the Cinque Ports, and 19 Edward II. Go-
vernor of Corfe-Castle in Dorsetshire. He died 50 Ed-
ward III. and this Sir John, 9 Richard II. 1386, two years
after Dr. Wiclif.

Dugdale's
Baronage,
vol. ii. p. 6.

Sir Reginald de Hylton was a descendant from Robert
de Hilton, of Hilton in the County Palatine of Durham.

Sir John Trussel was of Cubleston in Staffordshire.

It is very likely that these worshipful Knights would not
see men, of whom they had so good an opinion, insulted
and abused in their presence, without shewing any resent-
ment. Nor is it at all improbable, that since the Orthodox,
as they are called, took the liberty to reproach and injure
the poor people who attended on the ministry of the per-
secuted Wiclifites, these persons who favoured it should
take them under their protection. It was then the custom

for every *knight* to go always attended with his *esquire*, CHAP.
X.
who wore a sword as well as the knight, although not in the same manner. And this might very easily be represented, by men whose business it was to invent and lay to the charge of the poor Wiclifites whatsoever they knew would blacken and make them odious, as bidding defiance to the government, and encouraging men to rise in opposition to it.

For this reason is John Balle styled by Knighton the forerunner of Wiclif, as John Baptist was of Christ. "This De Event.
Angl. Coll.
2644, 2634.
" John Balle," he says, "was reckoned a most famous
" preacher by the laity, and had for many years before
" foolishly sown the word of God, mingling tares with the
" wheat, studying too much to please the people, and very
" much derogating from the liberty of the law and state
" ecclesiastical; and cursedly introducing many errors into
" the Church of Christ among the Clergy and Laity, dark-
" ened the province for ^a many years. For which cause he Walsing-
ham says a-
bove twen-
ty-eight,
p. 215.
" was tried by the Clergy, and legally convicted, and by
" them adjudged to perpetual imprisonment in the Arch-
" bishop of Canterbury's prison at Maydestoke, (or rather
" Maydestone,) from whence he was delivered by the re-
" bels headed by Wat Tyler, or Hellier, in the beginning
" of the reign of King Richard II."

Walsingham says he taught the perverse tenets and Hist. Angl.
p. 275.
opinions and false ravings maintained by the perfidious
John Wiclif.

An anonymous writer tells us, that Ball, whom he calls MS. in Hy-
peroo Bodl.
163.
John Ball of Coventry, confessed that for two years he was
a disciple of Wiclif, and had learned from him the heresies
which he taught.

^a This shews the falsehood of Balle's being a disciple of Wiclif's; since if, as Walsingham says, in 1381 Balle had been a preacher above twenty-eight years, or before 1353, he was, very probably, Dr. Wiclif's senior, or, however, not young enough to be *his* pupil. Besides, by the best account we have of Dr. Wiclif, whatever his private sentiments were, he did not begin to make any public opposition to the Papal corruptions and superstitions till some years after the time here fixed for Balle's first preaching his erroneous doctrine. The writ against John Balle and his adherents is dated 1366.

CHAP.
X.

* Varillas.

A modern French historian *, if it be lawful to mention a man who has shewn so little regard to truth in his writings, has improved these hints, and plainly charged the Wicliffites as the authors of this rebellion of the Boors. He fancies this John Balle to have made his escape out of prison, and to have raised this rebellion, because he would not be retaken; and dreams, that this he did with the leave of Wiclif, who commissioned him to preach this doctrine; “that worldly goods ought to be equally distributed among men, and held in common by them; and that no man could properly possess any thing of his own without sin:” whereas if he had ever read any of the historians of those times, he must have known that this insurrection was made by the Boors at that time, not on any religious account whatsoever, but on a provocation by the insolence of the collectors of a poll-tax; that Balle was imprisoned before ever this rebellion commenced, or perhaps was thought of, and owed his delivery out of gaol to the hatred which the mob had then conceived against Simon Sudbury the Archbishop; and that Wiclif is never charged, even by his enemies, with holding a community of goods, and the unlawfulness of property to *all* men. But such groundless fables the authors of them know to have their present use, at least, in raising the passions of the unthinking rabble, and setting them against those whom they would have them hate.

How servants and lords shall keep their degrees.MS.

Dr. Wiclif indeed complained himself that “*some men that ben out of charity slandren poor Priests with this errour, that servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rents and service fro their lords, when lords ben openly wicked in their living;*” and that “*they maken these false lesings upon poor Priests to make lords to hate them, and not to meyntene truth of God’s law that they techen openly for worship of God, and profit of the rewme, and stabling the King’s power in destroying of sin.*” This was the turn which Dr. Wiclif’s enemies gave to his opinion, that tithes are not to be paid to Curates who are notoriously wicked, and “*who don not their*

“office neither in teching, ne preching, ne geving of Sa-
 “craments, ne releiving poor men in the parish.” But in
 answer to this Dr. Wiclif declares that “these poor Priests
 “[who were thus reproached] destroien most by God’s law
 “rebelty of servants agenst lords, and charge servants
 “to be sujet, though lords be tyrants. For St. Peter
 “techeth thus, Be ye servants suget to lords in all man-
 “ner of dread, not only to good lords, and bonoure, but
 “also to tyrants, or such as drawen fro God’s school.
 “For, as St. Paul seith, eche man oweth to be suget
 “to higher potestates, that is to men of high power, for
 “there is no power but of God, and so he that agenstond-
 “eth power, stondeth agenst the ordinance of God, but
 “they that agenstonden getten to themselves damnation.
 “And therefore Paul biddeth that we be suget to princes
 “by need, and not only for wrath, but also for conscience,
 “and therefore we paien tributes to princes, for they ben
 “ministers of God. And Paul biddeth us pay debts to
 “all men, tribute to him that we owen tribute, and so of
 “talliage for things boren about in lond, and so dread, and
 “also worship or honour: and thus servants shulden truly
 “and wilfully serven lords and their masters, and live in
 “rest, peace, and charity, and stirr lords, though they
 “weren heathen lords, to good Christen faith, and holy life,
 “by their patience, and open and true life, and meke. And
 “this is a feyned word of Antichrist’s Clerks, that if su-
 “jets may lawfully withdraw tithes and offrings fro Cu-
 “rates that openly liven in lechery or other great sins, and
 “don not their office, then servants and tennants may
 “withdraw their service and rents fro their lords that
 “liven openly a cursed life.”

If the report that Walsingham makes of Jack Straw’s Hist. Ang. p. 265.
 confession be to be depended upon, one would think, that
 if any of the religious orders or sects at that time were
 concerned in raising this rebellion, it was the Order of the
 Begging Friars, against whom Wiclif and his followers were
 so zealous: since he confesses their design was to have de-
 stroyed all the Possessioners, Bishops, Monks, Canons,
 and even the Rectors of the churches, and to have suffered

CHAP. none to live in the land, besides the Mendicants. How
 X. would the adversaries of Wiclif have triumphed and exult-
 ed, had this rebel confessed so much with relation to *him*,
viz. that their intention was to have murdered all the reli-
 gious orders and secular Clergy, and allowed none to live
 but Wiclif and those of the Clergy who had embraced his
 opinions? And indeed what could more naturally be sup-
 posed to be a part of the scheme than this, if the forgery
 of Varillas were true, that it was contrived by John Balle,
 and that he was set on by Wiclif.

Walsingham therefore much more modestly imputes
 these calamities to the sins of all the inhabitants of the
 land in general, without making any exception. And in-
 deed the account given of the first occasion of this insur-
 rection too plainly shews how wicked a great part of the
 nation was then grown. In the Parliament that met April
 25, in the second year of King Richard II. a grant was
 made of a poll-tax to be levied for the King's use, *viz.* of
 every Earl a sum not exceeding four pounds; every Justice
 of the two benches, with the Chief Baron, to be five pounds;
 the Mayor of London paid four pounds as an Earl, and every
 Alderman forty shillings as a Baron; every Advocate forty
 shillings as an Advocate at law; every Priest secular or
 regular paid six shillings and eight pence; and every Nun
 as much; and every man and woman, married or not mar-
 ried, being sixteen years of age, (beggars certainly known
 only excepted,) four pence for every one; Knighton says a
 shilling. This, it seems, was a new and strange subsidy or
 tax, and we are told that great grudging and many a bit-
 ter curse followed about the levying this money. Thus
 the people were generally discontented, a ferment was
 raised, and every thing tended to tumult and sedition.
 This uneasiness was rendered yet the greater by the inso-
 lence of the farmers and collectors of this tax, who, as
 Knighton tells us, *puellulas, quod dictu horribile est, e*
sursum impudice elevarunt, ut sic experirentur utrum cor-
ruptæ essent, et cognitæ a viris. [He should have said
utrum puberes essent.] Thus one of the collectors misused
 a daughter of one John Tyler at Dartford in Kent. In the

Coll. 2633.

A. D. 1379.
 Cotton's A-
 bridgment,
 p. 168.

Coll. 2633.

same manner another of them, one John Leg, abused a daughter of one Thomas Baker of Fobhyngges in Essex: and no doubt but the same vile and immodest practices were used in other places; by which the people were every where set in such a rage and uproar, that they cared not what they did to be revenged of such injuries. And this is a much likelier and more natural account of the rise of this rebellion, than its being owing to the attempts made by Wiclif, about this time, to reform the errors and defaults which he observed, especially in the Clergy and Religious, and in other estates of the world. For though indeed, as Joceline observes, at the Reformation, when the light of the Gospel and the Christian liberty were declared, the mad rabble took advantage of the novelty and change, and were spurred on by the hopes of disturbing all order in Church and State; yet the case was not now exactly the same: since it does not appear, at least to me, that the light of the Gospel and the Christian liberty were at this time declared as they were afterwards in Martin Luther's time. It may justly be questioned whether the Bible was yet translated into English, (although it was soon after;) and if it was, it could be but in few hands, and those too of the richer sort, because printing was not yet in use, and written copies were very chargeable and expensive. Nor could Wiclif's opinions be at this time spread all over the nation. There were but very few of the Clergy who embraced them; and though indeed those few dispersed themselves, and did all they could to bring the nation out of that darkness in which it then lay, yet, alas! they could not do much; their labours, as we find by the event, were chiefly confined to the diocese of Lincoln, in which Wiclif lived.

I only add, that had these insurrections been on the account of Wiclif, we should certainly have heard of the same things done by the populace as were done by them in some places at the Reformation, *viz.* the images pulled down and burnt, the religious houses rifled, and the lazy lubbers who inhabited them turned out to get their living in a lawful and honest way. But we find nothing of all

CHAP. X. this: all the angry rabble seemed intent upon was, the avenging themselves of those whom they fancied to have been the authors or occasions of those grievances which they suffered. This made them fall so foully on the great and noble Duke of Lancaster, who was the known supporter and protector of Wiclif, as not only to burn his stately palace, and destroy his very costly furniture, but to aim at his life. So that Archbishop Parker's remark seems very true, that "it is owing to pure hatred of the Wicliffites that some have falsely and ignorantly pretended that Baale was one of them."

As Dr. Wiclif was very much in favour with the people among whom he lived, and to whom he preached; so he was held in very great reputation by the University of Oxford, especially by the Seculars and Students who lived there: insomuch that even after his death Archbishop Arundel complained, that the *University was partly turned into wild vines which brought forth bitter grapes.*

Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 204. It is allowed on all hands that a great multitude of the Academics were infected with the opinions of Wiclif at this time.

In the year 1406 Letters Testimonial, in the behalf of Wiclif, were given by the University, and sealed with their common seal. In these it is said of him, "that his conversation (even from his youth, or tender years, unto the time of his death) was in the University so praiseworthy and honest, that never at any time was there any offence given by him, or was he aspersed with any note of infamy or sinister suspicion: but that in answering, reading, preaching, determining, he behaved himself laudably, as a valiant champion of the truth, and catholicly vanquished, by sentences of holy Scripture, all such as by their wilful beggary blasphemed the religion of Christ. That this Doctor was not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our Prelates delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid, that our Prelates should have condemned a man of so great probity for an heretic, who in all the University had not his equal, as they believed, in his writings of logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative sciences."

But the authentickness of this Testimonial is disputed. CHAP. X.
 It is said, that Dr. Thomas Gascoigne tells us, that “ Peter Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 203.
 “ Paine, an heretic, stole the common seal of the Univer-
 “ sity, under which he wrote to the heretics at Prague in
 “ Bohemia, that Oxford and all England were of the same
 “ belief with those of Prague, except the false Friars Men-
 “ dicant.” This Peter Paine was, it seems, born at a place Ibid. p. 215. 216.
 called *Haugh* or *Hogh*, in the county of Lincoln, situ-
 ated about * three miles from Grantham, from whence, ac- * five.
 cording to the custom of that age, he had his surname,
 although he was also called Peter Freyng or French, be-
 cause his father was of French extraction; Inglys, because
 he was born in England; and after he was in Orders, Peter
 Clerk or Payne. He was sent by his father to Oxford,
 where he successfully studied grammar, logic, and philo-
 sophy. Having taken his degree of Master of Arts, he be-
 came Principal of Edmund Hall, and was very famous in
 the University for his excellent parts, and being a good
 disputant; and particularly for opposing the Friars, and
 disputing with Thomas Walden a Carmelite, about the
 beggary of Christ, pilgrimages, the Eucharist, images, and
 relics. Walden tells us, that once disputing with him
 and one Friar William, on some of the abovesaid argu-
 ments, and about wilful beggary, he first hesitated, and
 then appeared troubled in his mind, and at length ran
 quite mad. But so are all men esteemed by the Papists
 who are not bigotted to their fopperies. However, it is not
 to be doubted, that out of fear he afterwards fled into Bo-
 hemia, where he contracted an acquaintance with Proco-
 pius, and published some of Wiclif’s books. But even
 here he was not long in safety; for being apprehended by Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. part. ii. p. 456. MS.
 the Emperor’s officers, he died at Prague A. D. 1455; but
 by what kind of death is uncertain.

It is not very probable that a man of this character, who
 thus suffered the loss of all things out of conscience to-
 wards God, should dare to do what is condemned even by
 the light of nature, and incur the guilt of both *theft* and
forgery. Besides, it is not true, that in this Testimonial

CHAP.
X.

Histoire du
Concile de
Constance,
p. 290, 390.

“the Bohemians or any others are certified that Oxford
“and England were of the same belief with them.” Nor
would any follower of Wiclif have asserted so much. Since
though John Huss and Jerome of Prague so far agreed
with Wiclif, that they opposed the tyranny and corruptions
of the Pope and his Clergy; yet it is well known that they
were by no means of the same opinion with relation to the
Eucharist; that neither John Huss nor Jerome did ever
oppose the *real* or *corporal presence*, and *transubstantia-
tion*, as Wiclif had done.

The Testimonial is in the name of the Chancellor and
the Congregation of Masters, who are said to be unani-
mous on this occasion. And it is said that this year,
1406, the Chancellor was Richard Courtney, of Exeter
College, who was afterwards Dean of Wells and Bishop
of Norwich: the Commissaries or Vice-Chancellors are
said to have been John Whyttehede and John Orum, both
of University College, which latter was in 1411 Archdeacon
of Barum and Cornwall, and in 1428 was made Chancellor
of the church of Exeter: and the Proctors, Walter Logar-
dyn of Merton College, and Adam Skelton of Queen's. I
cannot find that any of these were any way remarkable
for any opposition made by them to Wiclif, or their shew-
ing any hatred of his memory. But indeed, by the statute
made 1426 for the more secure custody of the common
seal of the University, (if it at all relates to this matter,) it
seems as if this Testimonial was thought to have been ob-
tained by Wiclif's friends by a surprise; the design having
never been communicated to those whom they knew would
oppose it, and so the Grace passed by a majority in the
Congregation House. Instances of such management may
perhaps be met with even since that time. The statute
orders that “nothing shall hereafter be sealed with the
“common seal of the University, but in a full Congregation
“of Regents, if it be full term; or in a Convocation of Re-
“gents and Non-regents in the time of vacation: nor that
“any thing written shall be sealed with the seal aforesaid,
“unless the tenor of it be first maturely debated a whole

“ day in a full Congregation of Regents, if it be full term,
 “ or in a Convocation of Regents and Non-regents in va-
 “ cation time; and that no deliberation in a Congregation
 “ of Regents shall be fully decided the first day on which
 “ it is proposed.” If this statute was occasioned by this
 Testimonial in behalf of Wiclif being sealed by the com-
 mon seal of the University, it seems plainly to intimate,
 as I said before, that Wiclif’s friends took advantage of
 the vacation, and the absence of his enemies from the
 Congregation, and got this Testimonial passed by the ma-
 jority of those who came thither for this very purpose.

It is by no means probable that the common seal of the
 University was at this or any other time kept so carelessly
 that who would might make use of it. Nor is there the
 least intimation of this in the statute above mentioned.
 And had it indeed been so, it is reasonable to suppose
 that a remedy would have been provided against this abuse
 much sooner than above twenty years after this pretended
 forgery was committed; and before five years after their
 giving this Testimonial was complained of at Constance.

But indeed that this Testimonial was known to be the
 act of the University, however that might be obtained by
 some management, seems very plain from the University’s
 letter to the Council at Constance, in which there is not a
 word of this Testimonial’s being a forgery, and sealed
 with their ^b seal unknown to them. They only declare
 that “ the Academic Council of Oxford have been seized
 “ with grief at the spreading of Wicliffe’s errors in England;
 “ that for the remedying that evil the said Council had
 “ nominated twelve able Doctors to censure the books of
 “ the said Wicliffe, [which by the way was not till five
 “ years after the date of this Testimonial,] and that they
 “ had marked two hundred articles, which all the Uni-
 “ versity judged worthy to be burnt: but that out of re-
 “ spect for the Council, they had sent them to Constance
 “ that they might be condemned by a sovereign author-

L’Enfant,
 Histoire du
 Concile de
 Constance,
 p. 228.

^b — tam sigillum quam literæ exaratae in membrana patefaciunt quod
 sint Anglicana. *Joan. Huss replic. contra Joan. Stokes.*

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X.

“ity.” It is indeed said that some Englishmen did at that Council produce a copy of this Testimonial, and pretended that it was supposititious, and made it a part of their charge against John Huss, that “he read it from the pulpit to recommend Wicliffe to the people.” But had it indeed been a forgery, how could the University well have done less, on such an occasion, than have declared by an authentic writing, that their seal was put to that writing without their knowledge or consent. But they very well knew that this was very highly to reflect on themselves, and to make all their public acts of no authority or credit. And they might as well have denied that the University had ever favoured Wiclif, or at any time demurred upon receiving the Pope’s Nuncio who brought them the Bull concerning him mentioned above.

Collier,
Hist. Eccl.
vol. i. p.
624.

A late historian pronounces very peremptorily in this case, that “the Testimonial was counterfeited,” and “has apparent marks of a counterfeit recommendation.” To justify this harsh sentence, he tells us, that “the commendation of Wicliffe for his orthodoxy, that his character was unblemished as to his belief, and that he was never convicted of heresy, does not agree with matter of fact.” But this is in part misrepresentation and false report. The Testimonial no where says that Wiclif *was unblemished as to his belief*; the words are, “Ejus conversatio — sic præclara extitit et honesta, ut nunquam de ipso irritatio, vel suspicionis sinistra ac infamiæ nota respersa fuerat.” It says further, and that very truly, that “nec fuerat prædictus Doctor pro hæretica pravitate convictus.” Pope Gregory only styles the Conclusions noted in *his* schedule, *false* and *erroneous*. In the process of Archbishop Courtney, and in the Oxford decree, Dr. Wiclif is not so much as once named: and even this historian himself owns that *no formal conviction passed upon his person*. And indeed the farthest that any of the acts of those times went, was charging Wiclif with being noted by *probable suspicion* of *heresy*, or *vehemently* and *notoriously suspected* of it. And therefore the Testimonial

Regis Literaræ patientes.
Archiepisc. Literaræ Cancellario et procurat.

adds, “aut per nostros Prælatos post ejus humationem traditus incendiis,” that he was never by our Prelates, since his death, ordered to be burnt, as a proof that he never was convicted of heretical pravity.

The historian adds, that “it is very unlikely the University of Oxford should have either inclination or courage to vouch thus freely for Wicliffe’s catholicness.” But he ought to have shewn that it does thus vouch. I, for my part, can see nothing like it; as if the drawers of the Testimonial were aware of being called to an account for it in those perilous times, they seem to have acted with the greatest caution. Thus when they style Wiclif *a valiant champion of the faith*, they presently instance in his *opposing the wilful beggary of the Friars*: and only add, that *God forbid that our Prelates should have condemned a man of so great probity for an heretic, who in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and matters of speculation, wrote, as they believed, without an equal.*

The historian observes further, that “so public a Testimonial might probably have exposed the University to the utmost hazards, and brought them within the penalty of the late statute.” This statute is 2 Henry IV. c. 15. which was passed about six years before the date of this Testimonial. In this statute, so far as I am able to see, Wiclif is not so much as once named, and how therefore the University could be brought within the penalty of it, by giving a Testimonial in his behalf, I confess, I do not see. It is indeed there enacted, “*that none from henceforth in any wise favour such preacher [as any thing preaches, holds, teaches, or instructs, contrary to the Catholic faith, or determination of the holy Church] or maker of any such and like conventicles, or holding or exercising schools, or making or writing such books, or so teaching, informing, or exciting the people, nor any of them maintain, or any wise sustain.*” But all this plainly relates to men alive, and not to a man that had been dead and buried fifteen years. Besides, it is well known

CHAP.
X.Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
204.

that Wiclif, when he was alive, did not make any conventicles, nor hold or exercise such schools as are here described.

It is observed some years after this, A. D. 1411, that “for all the condemnation of forty-five Articles or Conclusions of Wiclif’s at London, by Archbishop Arundel the year before, and the ratifying that sentence at Oxford in the Congregation House June 26, and burning the books out of which they were said to be taken *ad quadrivium, quatervois*; these hated opinions grew better beloved, and Wiclif’s writings, which were cast into the flames, shone with a greater light, and seemed to be rather *tried* than *consumed*, they were so increased through the fury of their enemies: insomuch that the Archbishop resolved to visit the University; and accordingly cited the Chancellor, Doctors, Masters, and Scholars to be in a readiness as soon as he approached Oxford. But the Chancellor, Richard Courtney, who was Chancellor when this Testimonial was given, with the Proctors, &c. went to meet his Grace, and told him, if he came as a guest, he was very welcome to the University; but if he intended to enter Oxford as a visitor, they would have him to know, that by the Pope’s Bull the University was exempted many years ago from the jurisdiction of the Archbishops and Bishops. Of this the Archbishop complained to the King, who commanded the Principals of the University to appear before him, to give an account of the Pope’s diploma wherewith they covered their contumacy. And some time after, the Chancellor and Proctors resigned, or were forced to lay down their offices at Lambeth, and the King wrote to the University, that the senior Doctor of Divinity, who was then Edmund Bekyngham, Warden of Merton, should take upon him the government of the University, and execute the Chancellor’s office, till another was chosen in the room of the person removed. On which such a melancholy seized the students, that they left off their lectures, and dispersed themselves, as

“ if they intended to break up the University. So that
 “ the King was forced to write several letters to the mem-
 “ bers of the University, and to entreat them with good
 “ words to resume their lectures.” Does this now look as
 if the University at this time was at all disaffected to the
 memory of Wiclif, or that they would refuse to give such
 a Testimonial in his behalf as this of which we are now
 speaking?

CHAP.
X.

That nothing occurs in the letters and registers of the
 University relating to this Testimonial is not very strange.
 It may as well be argued, that Dr. Wiclif was never Rec-
 tor of Lutterworth, because his institution to it is not to
 be found in the registers of the Bishops of the diocese in
 which that parish is. And perhaps the omission of both
 may be accounted for the same way, *viz.* that when the
 old registers, decayed by age or other accidents, were
 transcribed, out of hatred and detestation of the name and
 memory of Wiclif whatever related to him was left out.

Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
203.

On the whole, if Archbishop Arundel and the Synod of
 the Clergy held at St. Paul's, London, may be believed,
 the University was at this time *wholly* infected with Wic-
 lif's doctrine. “ She who was formerly the mother of vir-
 “ tues, the light of knowledge, the prop of Catholic faith,
 “ and the singular pattern of obedience,” they said, “ now
 “ brought forth only abortive children, or degenerating
 “ from the disposition of the former race, who always en-
 “ couraged contumacy and rebellion, and sowed tares
 “ among the pure wheat.” And this was but *four* years
 after this Testimonial was given. And accordingly the
 Archbishop in his letters to the Chancellor, &c. 1411, tells
 them, that “ he knew that almost the whole University
 “ was touched or infected with *heretical pravity*.” And
 “ the members of it were forced to beg the Archbishop's
 “ pardon for their not being so violent as they ought to
 “ have been in persecuting the Lollards, and that *all* the
 “ Masters did not agree in the condemnation of the Ar-
 “ ticles of Wiclif.”

Reg. Arun-
dell. fol. 24.
Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
205.

So that it seems this Testimonial has not such *apparent*

Collier's
Eccl. Hist.
vol. i.

CHAP. X. *marks of a counterfeit recommendation; nor does Mr. Fox deserve to be censured for making no question about its credit; which perhaps had never been doubted but for hatred of the memory of the man in whose behalf it is given. Thomas Gascoigne, as I have shewn, is the only writer on whose authority this story is built, and he very plainly misrepresents the Testimonial, and writes of it as if he had never seen it.*

Anthony
Harmer's
Specimen,
&c. p. 15.

I shall conclude all I have to say of this matter with the authority of a great and learned man, who was far from being a stranger to Dr. Wiclif's history. "That great man, Dr. Wiclif," says he, "far from being condemned at Oxford, during his own life or the life of the Duke of Lancaster, was had in great esteem and veneration at that University to the last; and his writings, for many years before and after his death, were as much read and studied there as those of Aristotle, or the Master of the Sentences. Nay, so much concerned was that University for his reputation, that, near twenty years after his death, hearing that false reports had been spread abroad in foreign parts, as if Wiclif had been convicted of heresy in England, and his body thereupon disinterred and burnt, the Chancellor and Senate of the University published a manifesto, wherein they gave to him a great character of learning and piety, called him a valiant champion of the faith, and declared, that he had never been convicted of heresy, nor his body disinterred. Indeed four years after this, the authority of the Pope and King concurring with the restless endeavours of Archbishop Arundel, several of his writings were condemned and burnt at Oxford; and eighteen years after this, his body was taken up and burnt."

Dr. Wiclif's being in so great reputation with the University, and so generally beloved there, we may well suppose to have been a means of recommending him to the favour and esteem of a great many considerable persons both of the Clergy and laity. And to let the reader see that he was a person above that contempt which his ene-

mies, in their writings, studiously endeavour to pour upon him; I hope it will not be thought improper to add to the history of his life some account of those who shewed great regard to him and to his writings. CHAP. X.

1. First he was happy in the royal favour. King Edward III. as has been shewn, set a great value on him, and employed him in affairs of the greatest importance, and wherein his royal prerogative and the welfare of his kingdom was very nearly concerned. And for this some of the Popish historians, if they deserve that name, have very basely reflected on his memory. Thus the infamous Varrillas: "The King," says he, "did not live a year before he was punished for the favour which he had shewn to Wiclif, in a manner which cannot be expressed without horror. He was tormented with a languishing fever in his house at Shene, where he went to take the diversion of hunting." This romantic writer fancies that Wiclif and his doctrines were anathematized in a Council held at Canterbury the year before the King fell sick, *viz.* A. D. 1375, (for the King fell sick at Eltham immediately on the news of the death of his son, the Black Prince, who died June 8, 1376; of which sickness he never was perfectly recovered before his death at Shene, June 21, 1377,) by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury; whereas neither was Wiclif ever accused of holding any erroneous tenets till after this King's death; nor was Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury till eleven years after Wiclif himself was dead and buried. Histoire du Wiclevianisme, p. 34.

Father Parsons tells us of this Prince, that "he shewed great respect to the see Apostolic and ecclesiastical power thereof till toward the latter end of his reign, when he growing old and feeble, as well in judgment as in body, and matters depending most upon his son, John of Gaunt,—at this time, being the forty-seventh of the reign of King Edward according to Walsingham, or forty-ninth according to Polydore, though the book of Statutes doth appoint it the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh years, were the statutes made, or perhaps begun

Answer to Sir Edward Coke's Reports, p. 291.

CHAP. "to be put in execution, against recourse to Rome, &c."

X.

But the King was but thirty-one years old when the Commons in Parliament first complained to him of the Papal encroachments and usurpations, and but sixty-two when he sent Dr. Wiclif, &c. ambassadors to treat with the Pope's agents about his desisting from his practice of disposing of ecclesiastical benefices here in England by his bulls of provision. An age at which it is not usual for people to dote!

Hist. Ang.
p. 192.

Thomas Walsingham reports of this Prince, that "during the whole time of his lying sick, that wicked whore "Alice Peeres sat by him, who in the mean time suggested to him what was dear to herself, but saying nothing, nor suffering any one else to say any thing to him of the salvation of his soul, always assured him of the restoration of his health, till she saw in him the undoubted signs of death by his speech failing him. For as soon as she saw his speech was gone, and that his eyes grew dim, and that his natural heat began to fail in his extreme parts, the shameless harlot immediately took his rings off his fingers, and withdrew."

This lady was, it seems, a person of extraordinary beauty, and very much in the King's favour toward the latter end of his life, insomuch that we find a grant made Oct. 8. 1373. by him to her of some of Queen Philippa's jewels. She was married to the Lord William Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the forty-third year of the reign of King Edward; and after the King's death was accused before the Lords in the Parliament held 1 Richard II. and by them adjudged to be banished, and to forfeit all her goods and lands whatsoever. But Sir Robert Cotton, who had perused the long record against this lady, assures us, that "it proves no such heinous matter against her as she was charged with. Only it shews, that she was in such credit with King Edward III. that she sat at his bed's head, when all of the council and of the privy chamber stood waiting without doors, and that she moved those suits that they dared not; and these two suits wherefore she

Abridg-
ment of Re-
cords, p.
158.

“ was condemned seemed very honest; her mishap was
 “ that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to
 “ her. The record,” says he, “ is strange, and worthy of
 “ sight.” Accordingly, this judgment was in the very next
 Parliament reversed.

CHAP.
X.

Abridg-
ment of Re-
cords, p.

177.

2. Another friend and favourer of Dr. Wiclif was Joan the Black Prince's consort, and mother to King Richard, who, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, the Pope's Delegates, having abruptly broken up their Court held at St. Paul's to condemn Wiclif, met again at Lambeth on the same business, sent Sir Lewis Clifford to them to forbid them to pronounce any definitive sentence against him.

3. The great and noble John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and second son to King Edward III. was a very zealous protector of Dr. Wiclif against the designs and attempts of his enemies to destroy him: insomuch that, as

C. 2647.

Knighton observes, if it had not been for him, he must necessarily have fallen into the pit of destruction. For which a later writer of the same spirit gives this reason, that Dr. Wiclif was so generally plausible, that the Duke graced him to cover his own foul practices with the fair vestment

Image of
both
Churches,
p. 253.

of religion, the better to overthrow both the liberties of the Church and the charters of London, both which lay as blocks in his way to hinder the course of his aspiring designs. The castle of Leicester was one of the Duke's palaces where he sometimes resided; and Lutterworth, where Dr. Wiclif was parson, being not above eight or ten miles from thence, it is not at all unlikely that the Duke knew his character very well, and was well acquainted with the manner of his conversation. This great man is reported to be so well satisfied that Christ Jesus did not commit his Gospel to the Clergy and Doctors of the Church only, but that the custody and use of it was the birthright and privilege of all Christians, that he declared, in one of the parliaments held in King Richard the Second's time, for the translation of it into the vulgar tongue. A bill, we are told, was brought in for taking away the Bible then trans-

CHAP. lated into English by Dr. Wiclif, which was rejected by
X. both Lords and Commons, on which occasion the Duke

A. D. 1390. thus spoke: "We will not," says he, "be the dregs of all
John Fox "men; seeing other nations have the law of God, which
Præfat. "is the law of our faith, written in their own language;"
Evangel. "and swearing a great oath, declared, "he would maintain
Saxonico, "it against those, whoever they should be, who first
A. D. 1571. "brought in the bill." Others, at the same time, added,
Usserii de "that if the Gospel by being translated into English was
Scripturis, "the occasion of men's running into error, they might
p. 162. "know that there were more heretics to be found among
"the Latins than among the people of any other language.
"For that the Decretals reckoned no fewer than sixty-six
"Latin heretics, and so the Gospel must not be read in
"Latin, which yet they allowed." But for this, and his

Walsingh. "protecting Dr. Wiclif against the attempts of his malicious
Hist. Ang. adversaries, who were intent on procuring his ruin, has this
p. 310. noble person been represented by the monkish historians
Thomas as in a conspiracy to place the crown on his own head
Gascoigne, after his father's decease; and guilty of the worst of im-
Dict. part. ii. moralities, so as to have hastened his death by his exces-
p. 47. sive indulgence of them. For nothing too bad can ever be
Hist. Univ. said of those who are enemies to the Church, or, in plain
Oxon. p. English, against the arbitrary power and devilish tyranny
193. of the Popish Clergy. And they who will not spare even
crowned heads, as we have seen they did not King Edward
himself, because they will not be their tools and vassals,
we cannot expect should shew greater reverence to sub-
jects, though they are of royal blood and princely ex-
traction.

But had the Duke been at all suspected in King Edward's lifetime of having any design to hinder the succession of the Prince of Wales, whom he and his brothers, the Earl of Cambridge and the Lord Thomas of Woodstock, had all sworn, by the King's command, to uphold and maintain as their only lawful Lord and undoubted Sovereign, the King would never have made him his assistant in the Regency, thereby putting it more in his power to compass

his ambitious designs, if he had any, than otherwise it could have been. However, it seems, the Duke's enemies had so far sent abroad this suspicion of him, that the Commons in the Parliament held at Westminster this year, after Michaelmas, being the first of the young King's reign, accused him of treason, which the Duke complained of to the King, and "in his defence openly before the King demanded the combat to any person whatsoever, or what other order the King should appoint. Whereupon the whole Lords and Commons with one voice purged him, and requested that he would use no more such words, whereto the said Duke seemed to be content; but said, that the same report, to set the nobles at debate, was no better than treason." And four years after, when the Duke was forced to go into Scotland to avoid the fury of the rebellious boors, who were particularly enraged against him, the King ordered the Earl of Northumberland to seek for him, and to be his guard to defend him against his enemies, that he might come safe to the King. The same orders were sent to all and singular the Lords of the northern district, and also to all and singular the Sheriffs and Burgesses, with a sufficient force to conduct the Duke safely through their territories. And when the Duke came to the King at Redynges, he was received with the greatest joy, and marks of the highest honour, and very magnificent and royal presents were made him by the King, to compensate for the damage he had sustained by the rebellious boors.

CHAP.
X.Cotton's
Abridg.
p. 155.A.D. 1381.
Knighton
de Event.
Angliæ, c.
2642, 2643.

The record which mentions John Northampton, draper, John Moore and Richard Northbury, mercers, being excepted out of the pardon which the King, at the request of the Commons in Parliament, granted to the citizens of London, on which Walsingham seems to ground this suspicion of the Duke, says nothing of the Duke. And even John Northampton himself, the very next year, had the judgment given against him repealed by the King, at the request of the Commons, by the assent of the Parliament.

Cotton's
Abridg.
p. 325.A. R. xi.
A.D. 1383.

Ibid. p. 339.

CHAP.
X.De Event.
Angliæ, c.
2643.

Knighton always calls this Duke the *pious*, and the *peaceable* Duke, and gives this reason for his so styling him; that he never sought revenge in all his troubles and straits, and under all the injuries that were maliciously done to him, but carrying himself with great moderation, forgave every one who desired his pardon. Nay, he says of him, that when by some of his own domestics he was robbed of a great quantity of plate to a great value, and he was urged to prosecute them, when taken, according to the rigour of the law, he was filled with such a spirit of piety, that he refused it, saying, he would have no man die for his goods.

4. Henry Lord Piercy, Earl of Derby, Earl Marshal of England. He accompanied Dr. Wiclif, together with the Duke of Lancaster, when he first appeared before the Archbishop and Bishop of London, at St. Paul's.

5. Anne, King Richard the Second's beloved Queen. She was daughter to the Emperor Charles IV. and sister to Wenceslaus King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany, and married to King Richard A. D. 1382. Wiclif thus speaks of her in his book *Of the threefold Bond of Love*. "It is possible," says he, "that the noble Queen of England, the sister of Cæsar, may have the Gospel written in three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin, and to hereticate her on this account would be Luciferian folly." The like account, it is said, was afterwards given of her by Archbishop Arundel in his sermon preached at her funeral.

A. D. 1394.
Usserii de
Script.
p. 161.
Complete
History of
England,
vol. i. p. 271.
Strype's Ep.
Dedicat. be-
fore Memo-
rials of
Archbishop
Cranmer.

"That although she was a stranger, yet she constantly studied the four Gospels in English, and explained by the expositions of the Doctors; and in the study of these, and reading godly books, she was more diligent than even the Prelates themselves, though their office and business required it." After her death, several of Dr. Wiclif's books were carried by her attendants into Bohemia, and were a means of promoting the Reformation there. She is said to have been a princess of so great worth both for piety and virtue, that the greatest love was but her due. In the blind age in which she lived she en-

joyed light, and could not, as we have seen, endure the implicit and unreasonable service and devotion of the Roman Church.

6. King Richard II. was at first no enemy to Dr. Wiclif. He made him his Chaplain, and graced him with his royal favour. However afterwards he suffered himself to be made use of by the ruling Clergy to be the instrument of wreaking their spite on him and his followers. For A. D. 1395, the King being in Ireland, before he could do much there, the Bishops and Clergy were so alarmed with the bold and numerous accusations which the Wicliffites, or Lollards, had made against their body, which they had publicly fixed on the doors of St. Paul's, London, and St. Peter's, Westminster, that they sent the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London to the King, begging of him to hasten his return, to defend and succour the true faith and holy Church, that were both in danger of being ruined by the heretics, who were contriving how to take away the possessions of the Church, and overthrow all canonical sanctions. The King, greatly surprised at the news, — hastened into England — and upon his arrival severely reprimanded some of the nobility and gentry, who were the chief favourers of these Lollards, causing Sir Richard Story publicly to abjure their principles, and openly declaring, that if he ever found him to relapse, he should suffer death without mercy.

Echard's
History,
vol. i. p. 403.
Walsingh.
Hist. Angl.
p. 388.

Besides the six knights mentioned before, p. 220, Sir William Nevyle, Sir John Clenboun, and Sir John Mountague, are reported to have so far favoured Dr. Wiclif's doctrines as in their several districts to destroy the images that were set up in the churches belonging to them. By this we see how much Dr. Wiclif and his followers were favoured by some of the principal nobility and gentry. Accordingly it is observed, that in their fixing on the doors of the cathedral of St. Paul's those papers, in which, Walsingham says, were abominable accusations of the Clergy, they were ^d animated so to do by the too great favour

Ibid. p. 328.

Ibid. p. 388.

^d — animati, ut fertur, nimio favore quorundam procerum et militum

CHAP. shewn them by some English peers and knights. Dr.
X. Wiclif himself tells us, that one comfort to him was of
Hom. on knights, that they favoured the Gospel, and had will to
Matt. xi. read it in English.

Dugdale's
Baronage,
vol. i. p. 33,
649.

The first of these knights was third son of Ralph Lord Nevil, who died 41 Edward III. Who Sir John Clenboune was, I do not find; but Sir John Mountague, or de Montacute, was brother to William de Montacute Earl of Salisbury. By his will bearing date March 20, 1388, he appointed that *a black cloth of wool*, instead of a pall of silk or velvet, *should be laid over his body*, and that *about, as also within, his hearse, and to cover the ground*, should be provided *cloth of russet and white, to be distributed to poor people after his burial, viz. as much as might make every poor man a coat and a hood.*

Hist. Angl.
p. 246.

16. Walsingham mentions another knight, one Sir Lawrence de St. Martin, of Wiltshire near Sarisbury, who, he says, was seduced by Wiclif's doctrines, and of whom he tells the following story.

“Easter drawing near, when he ought to receive the
“enlivening Sacrament, the Knight desired of his Priest
“that he might receive it on the vigil of the said feast,
“who, according to his desire, after mass was over, gave it
“him as he requested. But the Knight, when the Priest
“had given him the Host, took it in his hand, and immediately rising from his knees, (carrying God's body,) he
“hastened to his own house. The Priest, seeing the
“Knight thus act as if he was out of his wits, follows him,
“calling to him, and adjuring him not to offer so great an
“affront to the Sacrament, but either to restore it to him,
“or honourably to treat and receive it after the manner of
“Christians. But the Priest's cries and entreaties availed
“nothing; the Knight notwithstanding, shutting the doors
“on the Priest, ordered oysters to be brought to him, and
“eat part of the Host with the oysters, part with onions,
“and part he swallowed down with wine, saying, that

Anglicorum — qui instigabant et confovebant hereticos. *Hist. Angliæ*,
p. 388.

“ any bread he had in his house was as good as that,
 “ which he was glad he had received in such a manner.
 “ The Knight’s servants, who were amazed at the novelty
 “ of so horrid a fact, told all this to the neighbours. The
 “ parish Priest therefore, who was very much nettled at
 “ the Knight’s doing this great wickedness, told the whole
 “ of it, in order, to the Bishop of Sarum, Master Ralph
 “ Ergom. The Bishop ordered the Knight to be cited to A. D. 1380.
 “ appear before him, and he appearing, and nowise deny-
 “ ing the fact, the Bishop, because he was a man of great
 “ esteem in those parts, admonished him to return home,
 “ and get together divers of the Clergy who were known
 “ to him, and consult with them about this matter, if per-
 “ haps, being regarded by God, he might obtain grace,
 “ and think more wholesomely of the Sacrament aforesaid,
 “ and to appear before the Bishop on such a certain day.
 “ This admonition of the Bishop’s the Knight submitted
 “ to, and on the day prefixed coming again to him, accord-
 “ ing to the advice of the Clergy, which had, on this occa-
 “ sion, resorted to him, confessed that he had thought
 “ amiss of the Sacrament of the Altar, and had greatly
 “ sinned in dishonouring of it; wherefore he humbly beg-
 “ ged pardon of the Bishop, and of all who were present.
 “ The Bishop therefore seeing his conversion, and attend-
 “ ing to his humble confession, enjoined him, in part of
 “ penance, to erect a stone cross at Sarisbury, (in a public
 “ place,) on which the whole series of this matter should
 “ be engraved in order, and that on every sixth holyday,
 “ during his life, he should come to the said cross, with
 “ his head uncovered, his feet bare, and in only his shirt
 “ and drawers, and publicly confess before it on his bended
 “ knees the whole fact in order, as it was committed;
 “ and other penances he enjoined him, both public and pri-
 “ vate, which are too long to commit to writing.” This is
 the doughty story; and Walsingham tells us, that “ he
 “ has therefore told it more at large, that it may appear
 “ to all, how great evils the beast, (which ascended out of
 “ the bottomless pit,) the colleague of Satan, John Wiclif,

CHAP. X. "or Wickedbeleve, scattered abroad upon the earth." So that the reader sees the occasion of this tale. But nothing can be more false than that Wiclif propagated any profane or irreverent opinion of this holy Sacrament. So far is he from doing so, that he always speaks of it in his writings with very great reverence and devotion.

Leland de
Scriptor.
Britann.
p. 420.

17. Geoffery Chaucer. He is said to have been educated in Canterbury, or Merton College, with John Wiclif, and thereupon to have commenced an acute logician, a sweet rhetorician, a pleasant poet, a grave philosopher, and an ingenious mathematician, and an holy divine. He died 1400, *ætat.* 72.

Goodwin's
Life of Hen.
V. p. 361.

18. To these we may add the great and noble Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, who was not only "ennobled
" by his birth and dignities, but much more by his wit,
" eloquence, learning, and good sense, which, together with
" a great natural courage and an honest freedom of mind,
" accomplished him for such an eminent champion of the
" truth, as he appeared in times abounding with vice and
" error." In his youth he had heard Wiclif preach, by whose doctrine he declared he had learned to fear his God, and to have his conversation freer from sin than it was before. In several Parliaments he had spoken boldly against the corruptions of the Christian faith and worship, and had frequently represented to the Kings Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. the insufferable abuses committed by the Clergy.

Ibid. p. 22,
167.

A. D. 1395 and 1405 he presented to the Parliament two discourses concerning a reformation of discipline and manners in the Church; one of which books was composed by himself, and the other by John Purvey or Purney, of Oxford. A. D. 1389 he made a speech in Parliament against the Pope's power, and against the removal of causes to Rome to be tried there; upon which the statute of Provisors, made anno 25 Edward III. was confirmed, wherein it was ordained, "*That if any man bring
" or send within the realm, or the King's power, any sum-
" mons, sentence, or excommunication against any person,*

Statute
Book, p.
177, 178.
13 Rich. II.
c. 3.

*“ of what condition that he be, for the cause of making
 “ motion, assent, or execution of the said statute of Provi-
 “ sors, he shall be taken, arrested, and put in prison, and
 “ forfeit all his lands and tenements, goods and chattels
 “ for ever, and incur the pain of life and member. And
 “ if any Prelate make execution of such summons, sen-
 “ tences, or excommunications, that his temporalities be
 “ taken and abide in the King’s hands till due redress
 “ and correction be thereof made. And if any person of
 “ less estate than a Prelate, of what condition that he be,
 “ make such execution, he shall be taken, arrested, and
 “ put in prison, and have imprisonment, and make fine
 “ and ransom by the discretion of the King’s council.”*

By this action the Lord Cobham had then put his life in hazard of being made a sacrifice to the fury of the Priests; and Sir John Cheney, with others, were in the same danger. The Clergy, it is sure, were very angry at the passing these two acts, and made their solemn protestation in open Parliament against them, declaring, “ that they in
 “ nowise meant, or would assent to any statute or law
 “ made in the restraint of the Pope’s authority, but utterly
 “ withstood the same.”

Cotton’s
Abridg. p.
332.

This Lord Cobham is said likewise to have maintained in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Hertford, such preachers as were hateful to the Clergy; and, at the desire of John Huss, to have caused all Wiclif’s works to be written out, and to be dispersed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe.

Walden
contra Wic-
lev. lib. ii.
c. 70.

Goodwin’s
Life of King
Hen. V.
p. 167.

By these means he was reckoned a most inveterate enemy to the Church, and under this character represented, by his enemies, to King Henry V. with whom they found ways to make him suspected as an enemy to his royal dignity, and by degrees to lessen him in his affections and favour, and, at last, entirely to ruin him.

A Convocation was called by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at London, to convict this honourable person of what they called heresy: in which evidence was given of the crimes above mentioned. “ But out of respect to the King;

Ibid. p. 15.
Nov. 20,
1414.
Archbishop
Wake’s
State of the
Church, p.
350.

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“ in whose favour Sir John was, and in consideration of
 “ that honour which was due to his quality, the Archbi-
 “ shop would first communicate the business to his Ma-
 “ jesty; and for this purpose, with all his Suffragans then
 “ present, and a great number of the Clergy, he went to
 “ him then residing in his manor at Kennington. The
 “ King being willing to reduce Sir John Oldcastle by such
 “ means as might reflect no dishonour on him, required
 “ the Archbishop to desist for some time from all further
 “ process, promising that he himself would discourse the
 “ business with him speedily; which he did, sending for
 “ him soon after, and in a private conference admonishing
 “ him to submit to the Church, and to make a recantation
 “ of his errors. Sir John heard him with a becoming re-
 “ verence, and made this respectful answer. ‘ I am,’ said
 “ he, ‘ as I have always been, most willing to obey your
 “ Majesty, as the minister of God appointed to bear the
 “ sword of justice for the punishment of evil doers, and the
 “ protection of those that do well; to you therefore (next
 “ to my eternal living Judge) I owe my whole obedience,
 “ and entirely submit (as I have ever done) to your plea-
 “ sure my life, and all my fortune in this world, and in all
 “ affairs of it whatever am ready to perform exactly your
 “ royal commands; but as to the Pope, and the spiritual
 “ dominion which he claims, I owe him no service that I
 “ know of, nor will pay him any; for as sure as God’s
 “ word is true, to me it is fully evident that he is the *great*
 “ *Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of*
 “ *God, and the abomination standing in the holy place.*’ ”
 The King seeing him thus immoveable, abandoned him to
 the Ecclesiastical Court; and when the Archbishop came
 again to know his pleasure, he gave him full permission to
 cite him to appear before him, to examine and try him,
 and to inflict those punishments upon him which the
 Church had decreed.

For the same reason, and being prejudiced against this
 injured Lord by the influences of his enemies, the King
 refused to read the articles of his belief, which this noble

Lord had drawn up, and presented to him, and would not admit of his appeal to him as his judge, nor of his appeal from the Archbishop to the Pope, but committed him prisoner to the Tower, there to be kept in safe custody till the Pope gave allowance for his trial.

This great man being thus given up to the will of his enemies, and left entirely to their mercy, they never left him till they had “^c judged, declared, and condemned him “ as a most pernicious and detestable heretic, and there-
“ fore committed him to the secular jurisdiction, power,
“ and judgment to put him to death.” Which sentence, although he avoided the execution of it about a year by his escape out of the Tower, he was at last forced to submit to it: which he did with the utmost bravery and most triumphant joy, exhorting the people, at the time of his execution, to follow the instructions which God had given them in the Scriptures, and to disclaim those false teachers, whose lives and conversations were so contrary to Christ and his religion. When at his last hours he was urged to confess himself to a Priest, whose service was offered for that purpose, he not only with a noble scorn rejected him, but openly protested, that “ if the Apostles
“ Peter and Paul were there, he would not confess to
“ *them*, since one infinitely greater, God himself, was pre-
“ sent; and as from *Him* only he implored and hoped for
“ pardon, so to *Him* alone he would make confession of
“ his sins.”

Goodwin's
Life of King
Henry V.
p. 166.

This nobleman was so generally beloved, that the Clergy, by these severe proceedings against him, very much lost themselves in the esteem and affection of the people. As they apprehended therefore the effects of a

Ibid. p. 27.

^c On the 14th of December 1417. the famous judgment was, at the request of the Commons, given against Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, for treason and heresy: and his punishment so contrived as to answer both by hanging [him by the middle cross an iron chain] and burning of him hanging. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his Clergy had begun this cause in their Synod three years before; ever since which time they had been pursuing of him, till at last they accomplished their purposes against him. *Archbishop Wake's State of the Church*, &c. p. 353.

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popular hatred, they made use of an artifice to turn it off, by spreading a rumour that the Lord Cobham was become a good Catholic, had abjured his heretical opinion, and submitted himself in all things to the holy Church: and that this report might gain credit, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name.

Hen. V.

And as they thus endeavoured by this forgery to amuse and blind the eyes of the unthinking multitude, so, on the other hand, to exasperate the King against the professors of Wiclif's doctrines, and to engage him with the greater zeal to back their endeavours to destroy them, they made very clamorous complaints to him, (as they had done before to his father,) that by reason of these new opinions, and the influence which the Lord Cobham had to abet and promote them among the people, many schisms, seditions, and tumults were raised in all parts of the kingdom: that the Clergy in general were hated, the Diocesans not obeyed, the Ordinaries disregarded, all the spiritual officers despised, the laws and liberties of the holy Church trampled under foot, the Christian faith decayed even to ruin, and the spiritual jurisdiction contemned: that the cause of all this mischief arose from suffering the disciples of Wiclif to preach so publicly, to gather conventicles, to keep schools in private houses, to write books, and to teach privately in corners, in woods, fields, groves, and caves of the earth. And the allowance of these things, they said, would be the ruin of the nation, destroy the government, and subvert the King's throne.

Hall. King
Henry V.

By such complaints as these, the Clergy had got very severe acts of Parliament to be made against the hated followers of Wiclif. But what, at this time, seems to have moved King Henry V. to greater indignation against these poor persecuted people, was his being persuaded that they had formed a dangerous conspiracy against his person and government. This, one of our chroniclers tells us, some have affirmed, and that not without reason, "*was for feined causes surmised by the Spiritualltie, more upon displeasure, than troth; and that they were assembled*

“ in Thicket Field on the back side of St. Giles’s in the night, only to hear their preacher John Beverley, that place there being out of the way from resort of people, sith they might not come togyther openly about anye suche matter, withoute daunger to bee apprehended as the manner is, and hathe bin ever of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publiquely the exercise of their religion.” This is the more probable from the

very different accounts given of this conspiracy by those who accuse this great man of being the head of it. Thomas Walden, who lived at this time, and wrote against Wiclif, in one place makes his report to Pope Martin, that Sir John Oldcastle, with a great number of heretics, conspired against the King in the first year of his reign, and that he offered him for the head of every Monk, Canon, Friar, and Priest, a gold noble; and in another writing of his against the Wicliffists gives a quite contrary account, viz. that Sir John was, at the time of this conspiracy, a close prisoner in the Tower.

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X.

Goodwin’s
Life of King
Henry V.

Polydore Vergil represents Sir John Oldcastle, who he says was a valiant man, but an impious one, and Sir Roger Acton, as putting themselves at the head of this conspiracy against all the Priests and the King, to revenge the condemnation of Wiclif’s heresy by the Council of Constance, and the burning in that city John Huss and Jerome of Prague, above two years, at least, after Sir Roger Acton was burnt here in England.

Hist. lib.
xxii.
Christofer-
son’s Exhor-
tation
against Re-
bellion.

A. D. 1416.

Another of the same sort of writers tells us, that “ Syr John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, and Syr Roger Acton, Wiclif’s disciples, levied 25,000 men, and intended to destroye the monasteries of Westminster, Powles, S. Albons, and all the howses of Friars in London: wherof that active K. Henry V. being advertised in good time, by the confession of some of their partakers, with great diligence he prevented them at S. Gyles Fealds, appointed to be their rendezvous, and incountring those straglers who weare there attending the General’s coming; ap-

Image of
both
Churches
by P. D. M.
p. 251.

CHAP. "prehended, condemned, and executed thirty-seven of the
X. "principals."

Titus Livius Foro-Juliensis and Thomas de Elmham represent these conspirators as actually gathered together in Fykette-felde, when information of it was first given to the King at Eltham, on Twelfth Day 1413, and tells us, that Sir John Oldcastle was dismissed from the King's presence and service, on account of his opinions, before his coronation.

A.D. 1414 Walsingham assures us, that Sir John was made a prisoner in the Tower some time before September 23, 1413, above three months before the date of this conspiracy; that the Archbishop obtained a reprieve for him of forty days, but before that time was expired he made his escape; and that on his escaping from thence, being inspired with thoughts of revenge, he sent letters to the most considerable of his party, to excite them to take arms and avenge his wrongs: but as to Sir John's heading the people assembled in St. Giles's Fields, this he produces no authority for but report. So again, he says the report was that 50,000 servants, apprentices, and citizens, were to join the rebels. He adds, that their General, the Lord Cobham, could not be found, though the King by proclamation promised to any one who should apprehend him a reward of one thousand marks of gold, &c. So different and disagreeing are the stories told of this pretended conspiracy, which will not bear examining.

For, in the first place, the Convocation did not meet till November 20, about forty-seven days before the time fixed for the putting in execution this conspiracy. Now the Lord Cobham is said by Walsingham during this interval to have made his escape out of the Tower, and to have formed this conspiracy. But who can believe, that in so little a time as thirty or forty days an enterprise of such importance should be undertaken by any one in his senses, as levying an army of 25, nay 50,000 men, to destroy the King, &c. Next, of all this force, which one says were

actually in Ficket Field, others tell us were marching thither, not above forty were taken: nay, Sir Robert Cotton assures us, that the effect of the Record out of the King's Bench is, that "Sir John Oldcastle and others, to the number of ^ftwenty men, a number far short of 25,000, called Lollards, at St. Gyles's, did conspire to subvert the state of the Clergy, and to kill the King, his brother, and other nobles."

CHAP.
X.

Abridg-
ment of Re-
cords, p.
554.

But the truth seems to be, that this Nobleman, by his favouring the Lollards, had very highly provoked the Popish Clergy, who were then a very powerful body of men. To be revenged of him therefore, he was very industriously represented, as others in the like circumstances have been since, not only as an enemy to the Church, but disaffected to the State. Thus we find him indicted for being in a conspiracy to bring the counterfeit Richard II. into England. For which purpose he was accused of holding a correspondence with the Duke of Albany, in whose house this counterfeit was kept, and inviting William Douglas the Scot to invade England; but of this there was, it seems, so little proof, that the King pardoned him. This contrivance failing, Sir John's enemies seem to have trumped up this new one to procure his ruin. For indeed things were now at that pass, that if any conspiracy was formed against the State, whether in pretence or reality, the poor Lollards, as they were nicknamed, were immediately accused as the authors of it. Thus Walsingham, on occasion of the Scots invading England in this reign, takes the opportunity of blackening this poor people as guilty of inviting their ancient enemies to bring fire and sword into the bowels of their native country: though King Henry himself owns, in his letter to the Duke of Exeter, that they were the solicitations of the French which brought the Scots into England.

Image of
both
Churches,
p. 252.

Father Parsons tells us, that Sir John being commanded by the Justice at his trial to shew cause why he should not suffer death, his answer was, that he had no judge

Three Con-
ver. p. iii.
p. 250.

^f Mr. Collier with his eyes read 20,000. *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i.

CHAP. among *them* so long as his liege lord King Richard was
 X. alive, and in the realm of Scotland.

* if.

The Chronicle of England, printed with the *Fructus Temporum* anno 1515, thus relates this matter: "In this
 " same yere, 1 Henry V. A. D. 1412, were a certayne
 " of Lollers taken and fals heretykes that had purposed
 " thugh fals treason for to have slayne our kyng, and
 " for to have destroyed all the Clargie of the reame, * and
 " they myght have had theyre fals purpose. But our
 " Lorde God wolde not suffre it, for in haste our Kynge
 " hadde warnynge therof, and of alle theyr fals ordy-
 " naunce and werkinge, and came sodenly with his power
 " to Saynt & Johans withoute Smyth Felde, and anone
 " they toke a certayne of the Lollers and fals heretykes,
 " and broughte them to the Kynges presence, and there
 " they tolde all there fals purpose and ordynaunce howe
 " they wolde have doo and wroughte yf they myght have
 " regned and hadde theyr wyll: and there they tolde
 " whyche were theyr capytaynes and gouernours, and
 " than the Kynge commaunded theym to the Towre of
 " London, and thanne toke moo theym bothe within the
 " cytye and wythoute, and sente them too Newgate and
 " to both Counteers. And thanne they were broughte in
 " examynacyon before the Clergye and the Kynges Jus-
 " tyces, and there they were convycted for theyr fals he-
 " resie, and dampned before the Justyce for theyr fals
 " treason. And this was theyr judgment, that they sholde
 " be drawen frome the Towr of London to Saynt † Gelys
 " Felde, and there to be hanged and brente on the gal-
 " lowes."

† Giles.

The same chronicler tells us, "that in the fyfth yere
 " of Kynge Henryes regne the Fyfh, Syr Johan Oldcastell
 " that was the Lord Cobham was arrested for heresie and
 " broughte unto the Towre of London, and anone after he
 " brake the Towre and went into Wales, and there he
 " kepte hym longe tyme. And att the last the Lord

* According to the other accounts, the King went to Thicket Field, near St. Giles's.

“ Powys toke hym, but he stode att grete defence long
 “ tyme, and was sore wounded or he wolde be taken, and
 “ soo the Lorde Powys men brought hym out of Wales
 “ unto London agayne in a whyrlcole, and soo he was
 “ brought to Westmynster and there was examined of
 “ certayn poyntes that were putt uppon hym, and he sayd
 “ not naye, and so he was convyte of the Clargye for hys
 “ heresye, and dampned before the Justyces unto the dethe
 “ for treason. And then he was ladde to the Toure ayen,
 “ and there he was layed on an hurdell and drawen thugh
 “ the cytye to Saynt Gelys Felde, and there was made a
 “ newe payre of galowes and stronge, and a coler of yren
 “ for hym, and there he was hanged and brent on the gal-
 “ lowes, and *al for his *leudenesse and his false opyn-*^{*ignorance.}
 “ *yons.*” However, this pretended plot had its intended
 effect, and the very next Parliament a severe act was made
 against the poor followers of Wiclif, as has been said al-
 ready.

19. John Northampton, alias Comberton. In 1382 he was
 Mayor of the city of London; and seeing how scandalous
 many of the citizens were become for lewdness and de-
 bauchery, he resolved to attempt a reformation of manners
 in the city. Accordingly he set himself with the utmost
 diligence to detect and punish those who were guilty of
 these vices. Such as he found guilty of whoredom, he
 very severely punished by imprisoning them, of whatever
 sex they were, and caused the women to be carried through
 the streets of London, with their hair shorn, as thieves
 were punished in those days, and exposed to public shame,
 with trumpets and pipes going before them; nor did he
 use the men any better. In this he was favoured and as-
 sisted by the graver and better part of the citizens, whom
 Walsingham charges, on this occasion, with growing in-^{Hist. Angl.}
 solent beyond measure, and giving a mischievous example^{p. 288.}
 to other cities, in usurping the episcopal rights, and offer-
 ing many affronts to them, in apprehending fornicators
 and adulterers: telling us that they were encouraged or
 set on to do this by John Wiclif and his followers, on pur-

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X.

pose to make the Prelates odious. "They [the citizens] pretended," says he, "that they not only abominated the carelessness and remissness of the Curates, but detested their covetousness, who being desirous of money, omitted the punishments prescribed by law, and taking money of the criminals, favourably permitted persons, guilty of fornication and incest, to live in the commissions of those wickednesses: that they were afraid lest for these sins committed in the city, but winked at, God would some time or other, to be avenged of it, permit its ruin: and that therefore they were desirous to purge the city of these defilements, lest it should be punished with the plague or sword, or the earth should swallow them up."

Hist. Angl.
p. 288.

As to this John de Northampton, their Mayor, he tells us, "he was a very obstinate and crafty man, lifted up with his riches, and purse-proud; that he was uneasy with his inferiors, and could not be bent by the entreaties or admonitions of his superiors, but that what he had begun of his own head, he with a stern resolution endeavoured to accomplish." For, it seems, though the Bishop of London had shewn himself highly displeased with him, for his thus using his authority to punish lewd women, &c. and had actually forbidden him to proceed, yet so long as he continued in his office, he would not be deterred from thus making a public example of these offenders.

De Event.
Angl. coll.
2655, 2666.

20. Nicholas de Hereford, S.T.P. He was of Queen's College in Oxford, and a very strenuous assertor of Dr. Wiclif's doctrines. For which reason he, together with John Aston, Priest, and Philip Rampingdon or Repingdon, was cited by Archbishop William Courtney to appear before him at his Court held at the Preaching Friars London, 1382, where, as Knighton tells us, he made the following confession.

"In the name of God amen. Wytes alle Cristen men that we Nichol of Herforde and my fellow Pristus unworthy in presence of oure gostly fader the Erchebishop of Canturbery the nyngtende day of June, zeer of grace

“ a thousand thre hundred fourscore and two, in the house
 “ of the Freres Prechoures at London, whan we wer re-
 “ quired to seyne what we felyde of diverse conclusions,
 “ we mayden this protestation and zit we maken, That
 “ oure entent was, and is to be trewe sones, and meke of
 “ holy Chirche, and zif happe, as God schilde, that we
 “ erren agaynst this entent, in wordus or in werkus, we
 “ submytte us mekelyche to oure foresayde fadur the
 “ Erche-bishop of Canturbury, and of alle other to whom it
 “ longyth to redresse them that erren. And afturwarde to
 “ wam were requirede to saye our beleve of the Sacrament
 “ of the Autere, as to zour understanding outh the peo-
 “ ple, we knowlechene fyrst that the Prist takus in his
 “ hondes, thorowe the vertue of the sacramental wordus,
 “ is made and turnyde veralyche into Christus body, the
 “ same that was taken and ben of the Mayden Marye, and
 “ that sufferide deth on the crosse for mankynd, and that
 “ lay in the sepulcre, and that roos fro death to lyve the
 “ thridde day, and stey up into hevene, and syttes in joye
 “ in the blysse of the Fadur, and that schal come at the
 “ day of dome, to dome the quikke and the deade: and the
 “ wyne is also turnyde veralyche into his blode, so that
 “ leves aftur the consecration of brede and wyne non other
 “ substaunce than that ilk that is Christus fleshe and his
 “ blode. And furthermore we beleve that the hole body of
 “ Christ is hole in the Sacrament, and hole in everyche
 “ partye of the Sacrament of the Autere. And also we
 “ beleve that Crist is veralyche in the same Sacrament
 “ in his bodely presence to savation af alle hem that wor-
 “ thelyche receyven that same Sacrament, to hem that
 “ unworthelyche receyven to her dampnation. And this
 “ oure beleve, and in this we bene thorou grace of God, we
 “ wille dye in remission of oure synnes. And therefore we
 “ pry alle Cristen men to whom this confession schal come
 “ to that ye bere us witnes of this beleve at the day of
 “ dome, before the heygest Judge Jhesu Crist, and pray
 “ for us for charite.”

If this was really Dr. Hereford's confession, I do not

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see what the Court could expect more; since he here makes an absolute submission to the authority of the Church, and expresses his belief of the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, in the very gross and carnal terms used by Paschasius, the first inventor of it. Whoever compares this confession with that which this historian calls the retractation of Dr. Wiclif, and which I have given the reader before, will find them widely to differ. Dr. Wiclif declares, that "*he beleves as Crist and his Apostolus han taugt him.*" Dr. Hereford, as he is represented in this confession, declares his *entent*, and the intent of his fellow Priests *to be true sons and meke of holy Church, and to submit them mekely to the correction of their most holy father the Archbishop of Canterbury.* Dr. Wiclif believed, that *the Sacrament of the Altar, white and round, and like to our bread or host unconsecrated, is very God's body in forme of bread,—that the same Sacrament is very God's body, and very bread—and that it is heresie to think that this Sacrament is God's body, and no bread.* But Dr. Hereford, in this confession, professes to believe that *the bread that the Priest takes into his hands, through the vertue of the sacramental words, is made and turned verily into Christ's body, the same that was taken and born of the Virgin Mary, and that suffered death, &c.* And yet this historian tells us, that "he, at this time, escaped the bitterness of death, by the assistance of the Duke of Lancaster, and the subtilty of words:" whereas even the Papists themselves could never yet find plainer words to express their doctrine of transubstantiation in, than these which the Doctor is said to have used on this occasion. But indeed there is great reason to suspect the reality of this confession, and to question whether or no Dr. Hereford ever made any such.

It appears indeed by the ^h process that he appeared before the Archbishop May 19th, but that he then refused to answer plainly to the Conclusions objected to him; on which the Archbishop prefixed to him June 20th, as a peremp-

¹ Convoc. May 19
² — June 12
³ — — 18
⁴ — — 20
⁵ — — 28
⁶ — July 1
⁷ — — 12
 For.

^h Archbishop Wake's State of the Church. App. p. 77, 78.

tory day for him to answer on. At that time he and Dr. Repyndon gave to the Court their answers in writing; but they were adjudged by the Doctors, who sat in it, to be insufficient, heretical, and deceitful: but no sentence was then pronounced against them; they were only ordered to appear again eight days after, *viz.* June 28, when they not appearing, were declared contumacious, and excommunicated with all their adherents.

Knighton informs us further, that this Doctor “ seeing
 “ he could no further prevail by his superstitious preach-
 “ ings and vain doctrines, and that he could not, consist-
 “ ent with his honour, defend the foresaid opinions in the
 “ English Church, seeing the Archbishop of Canterbury,
 “ with the consent of his Suffragans and of his Clergy, had
 “ declared them false, and excommunicated all those who
 “ were the fautors of them, he resolved to go to Rome,
 “ and accordingly took a journey thither. And that when
 “ he came to Rome, he proposed the foresaid Conclusions
 “ in the Consistory before the Pope, and told them that he
 “ had taken a wearisome journey from a remote country
 “ to defend these Conclusions as true and unproveable
 “ against all that opposed them, and protested that he
 “ would defend them in the utmost peril of death. The
 “ Pope on this caused a Convocation to be held of the
 “ Cardinals and Clergy, in order fully to deliberate with
 “ their advice concerning so difficult a matter, and that he
 “ might use the utmost diligence in finding out the truth
 “ in an affair of so high concern. And having discussed
 “ them all, and examined them article by article, he found
 “ them condemned by the holy Fathers, and worthy to be
 “ condemned at that present time. And so with the con-
 “ sent of the Consistory he caused them to be condemned,
 “ and to be declared condemned, and to be published to
 “ the people, some as *heresies*, and others of them as *er-
 “ rors*. And because the English nation favoured Pope
 “ Urban, and received and honoured him as the true Pope,
 “ the Pope, as doing one good turn for another, would not

CHAP. X. “ on this occasion destroy an Englishman in the flames,
X.

“ although he was a defender of *heresy* : but in some sort
“ indulging him, out of the respect which he bore to the
“ English nation, he took a milder course with him, and
“ condemned him in the presence of all the people to a
“ perpetual imprisonment. And when in process of time
“ many lords about the Pope were importunate with him
“ for the release and deliverance of the said Nicholas
“ Hereford, the Pope is reported to have answered, that
“ it was enough that he had his life, that being penitent
“ he might bring his mind off from the errors he had em-
“ braced. Some time after this, the Pope proposed to go
“ from Rome to Naples, his native country, unknown to
“ the Romans ; and accordingly began his journey *thither*,
“ which when the Romans saw, and that the Pope had re-
“ tired from them without their consent, and was confined
“ by the siege laid to the place where he was, they grew
“ angry, and turning seditious invaded the Pope’s palace,
“ and broke open his prison, and gave the prisoners their
“ liberty, among whom was Nicholas de Hereford, who
“ being thus loosed from his confinement returned into
“ England. But within a short time after he was com-
“ mitted to perpetual imprisonment by the Archbishop of
“ Canterbury.” Though others say, that being at length
quite wearied out, he yielded and submitted ; and going to
Coventry, took on him the habit of a Carthusian, and there
ended his life in the monastery of St. Anne, giving no
trouble to any body.

Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
192.

This account of this learned Confessor seems by no means consistent. According to this relation, he *abjured* the main article alleged against him, *viz. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar*, identically, verily, and really *in his proper corporal presence* : and yet it tells us, that he had been sentenced to death, had not the Duke of Lancaster protected him ; and, that he was a defender of *heresy*, and went to Rome on purpose to maintain the Conclusions which Archbishop Courtney had condemned,

and he himself abjured, and was afterwards sentenced to perpetual imprisonment by the Archbishop of Canterbury for asserting. CHAP. X.

On the contrary therefore we are informed by our Records, that A. D. 1392, King Richard II. granted Dr. Hereford a protection to defend him against his enemies, which is dated December 12, which shews how powerful they were, in that he was forced to apply to the Crown to be secured from their attempts against him. And that two years after the King conferred on him the Chancellorship of the church of Hereford by his letters patents, dated February 16. Accordingly Thorp said, that Rampingdon, Purvey, and Hereford, consented to receive, and to have and to hold temporal benefices. And one of the Archbishop's clerks said, he heard Herford or Hereford say, that "since he forsook and revoked all the learning and Lollards' opinions, he had had mikle great favour and more delight to hold against them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them." Pat. 15.
Ric. II.

Pat. 17.
Ric. II.

Fox's Acts,
&c. vol. i.
p. 705.

Walsingham tells us, that A. D. 1387, "Dr. Hereford happened to be at Sir John Mountagu's, who had a Chaplain that was a very zealous follower of the Lollards. This Chaplain happened then to be sick, and finding he should die, desired a Priest, to whom he might confess himself. Some of the family hearing this, asked him in a sort of surprise, What is it that you want? what do you desire? Have not you preached, that all outward confession made to Priests is needless? and that it is sufficient that a man only confess to God alone? To whom the sick man replied, I have been in an error; only pray let me have a Priest. Dr. Nicholas Hereford being by, and finding the Chaplain's inclination to be confessed, thus spoke to him: *What is it, says he, that you are going to do, you fool? what makes you to trouble yourself? Confess to God, who has a more ample power to bind and loose than your ignorant Priests have, and that confession of yours will be sufficient. You have sinned against yourself, not against the Priest; he ought to remit the offence, to whom the offence is given, or*

CHAP. X. “against whom the offence is done. But the Chaplain
 “persisting in his desire, *On you*, says he, *be the peril of*
 “*the sin of my not confessing, and dying without the*
 “*viaticum, since I have a desire of dying a good Catholic,*
 “*if I had liberty so to do:* and a little after gave up the
 “ghost. This story,” Walsingham says, “he therefore went
 “out of his way to tell, that he might let men into a better
 “knowledge of this horrible sect.”

20. John Aston, or de Aston. He was another of those
 who made their appearance before Archbishop Courtney at
 his court held at the Preaching Friars, where, Knighton
 tells us, he made this confession or abjuration.

De Event.
 Angliæ,
 coll. 2656,
 2657.

“*In the name of God Amen. Y John Aston Prist un-*
 “*worthely required of my Lord the Erchbyschop of Can-*
 “*turbery the nyntene day of June in the yer of Grace, &c.*
 “*in the hous, &c. to say what I felyde in the matyr of the*
 “*Sacrament of the Autere, Y have knowelechyde and yit*
 “*Y do that the self bred that the Priste holdes in his*
 “*hondes is made thorou the vertue of the sacramental*
 “*wordus verely the self Christus body that was borne of*
 “*the Mayden Marye, and takun and suffrede deth on the*
 “*crosse, and three days lay in the sepulchre, and the*
 “*thridde day ros fro deth to the lyve, and steyede up into*
 “*heven, and syttes on the ryghte honde of God, and in*
 “*the day of dome schall come to dome the quikke and the*
 “*ded; and over this I beleve generally alle that holy*
 “*Wrytt determynet in worde, and in understandyng, or*
 “*whatever holy Kyrke of God determynes of alle this.*
 “*Whan I was requirede specyaly to say what I felde of*
 “*this proposition, Materiale brede leves in the Sacra-*
 “*ment aftur the consecration; I make this protestacion*
 “*that I never thought, ne taugt, ne prechide that proposi-*
 “*tion. For I wote wele that the mater and the specula-*
 “*tion therof passes in heygte myn understandyng, and*
 “*therefore als mykele tellys openly for to leve in this ma-*
 “*ter I beleve, and of this mater or of any other touchyng*
 “*the ryght beleve of holy Kyrke, that is nought expresside*
 “*in holy Writte I beleve as our modur holy Kirke be-*
 “*leves, and in this belyve I will dye, and of this thing I*

“beseke alle men and alle wymmen to whom this Con- CHAP.
 “fession come to, to bere me witness before the hyghest X.
 “judge at the day of dome.”

This Confession, it is said, he drew up, and caused a great many copies of it, written in Latin and English, to be dispersed up and down in the streets of London, to make himself thought innocent, and set the people against the Archbishop and Clergy, as too cruel in condemning him to be delivered to the secular magistrate. But this is directly contrary to the *process*, which is yet extant in Archbishop Courtney's Register. Since, according to *that*, Ayshton was not pronounced and declared an heretic till the 20th of June, which is the day after the date of this pretended Confession. Hist. Univ. Oxon. p. 192.

And yet notwithstanding this Confession, we are told by Knighton, that he maintained, *That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after consecration, there is very bread and the very body of Christ, and that the roundness which is visible, and the whiteness, &c. are bread: and that this is the opinion of the Apostle, and ancient Doctors and saints; and that the modern Doctors do, in that matter, either contradict one another, or do not give a sufficient description of that Sacrament.* How inconsistent with, and plainly contrary to what he is made to say in this Confession, is this? Is this never to have thought nor preached that proposition, *that material bread remains in the Sacrament after the consecration?* Coll. 2659.

Besides, this John Aston, Knighton tells us, was a zealous propagator of Wiclif's doctrines: that for this purpose “he walked about on foot with a staff in his hand, and “was an unwearied visitor of the churches every where “throughout the kingdom; and was like a dog raised from “sleep ready to bark at every noise, and so expeditiously “went from one place to another, as if he had been a bee “full of arguments, promptly to dogmatize or spread his “opinions. He likewise,” he says, “boldly to the utmost of “his power declared the opinions of his master Wicliffe at “the tables of simple hearts, that so he might increase his Coll. 2658.

CHAP.
X.

“ sect. Nor was he content with the enticing Conclusions
“ of his master, or ashamed, out of his own novel subtil
“ invention, to add many others, and wherever he preached
“ to sow tares among the wheat. He frequently, and very
“ often exceedingly commended himself and the fautors of
“ his sect, styling them *trewe prechoures*, and as often
“ calling all other preachers *false prechoures*.” He tells
us further, “ that this Master John,” as he calls him,
“ preached at Leicester one Palm-Sunday, and delivered
“ many of the opinions of Master John Wiclif; and among
“ the rest, these following ones.”

“ I. That no one ought to excommunicate any one, un-
“ less out of charity, or a principle of kindness, and for
“ the salvation of his soul.

“ II. *Item*, That the excommunication which is issued
“ out against men to deter them from hearing the word of
“ God, is the excommunication of Antichrist, and not of a
“ good Christian man.

“ III. *Item*, That the Prelates of the Church obtain their
“ benefices for money, and on that account are simoniacs
“ and heretics.

“ IV. *Item*, That the kingdom would never be fully set-
“ tled, and in good peace, till the temporalities were taken
“ away from Ecclesiastics, and therefore, spreading his
“ hands abroad, he entreated the people that they would
“ every one of them assist in that matter.

“ V. *Item*, That ecclesiastical men, so long as they live
“ in riches and pleasures as they live now, are unqualified,
“ or not fit to pray for the people, for which end they were
“ principally appointed.

“ VI. *Item*, If the King had in his hands the temporal-
“ ties of Churchmen, he ought not then to levy tolls or
“ taxes, nor to spoil the nation or commonwealth.

“ VII. *Item*, That those new sects [the religious orders]
“ came, as it were, but yesterday, and assert that their life
“ and religion are more perfect than the common religion
“ of Christ and the Apostles.

“ VIII. *Item*, St. Paul got a living for himself and his dis-

“ ciples, by labouring, working with his hands, and so CHAP.
 “ ought the Religious to labour with their hands, and not X.
 “ to go about a begging.

“ ix. In the Sacrament of the Altar after consecration
 “ there is very bread and the very body of Christ, and the
 “ roundness which is visible, and the whiteness, &c. are
 “ bread: this is the opinion of the Apostle and ancient
 “ doctors and saints, and the modern doctors do in that
 “ matter either contradict one another, or do not give a
 “ sufficient description of that Sacrament.

“ x. The Preachers of the Religious who will not tell
 “ the people, nor set down in writing the true account of
 “ the Sacrament of the Altar, and the belief of it as it is
 “ founded in the Gospel and holy Scripture, are excom-
 “ municated and heretics: and if any one gives alms to
 “ such people, he is a fautor of them, and excommuni-
 “ cated with them.

“ xi. *Item*, The Friars are ashamed to tell their belief
 “ of the Sacrament of the Altar,” and for a confirmation
 of all he said, he affirmed, “ that this is the faith which
 “ every one ought to have from the Gospel and the say-
 “ ings of the Apostles; and that if any one said or preached
 “ in opposition to it, he was by no means to be believed.”

These and many other erroneous things, as Knighton De Event.
 calls them, he tells us “ he said and preached publicly, to Angliæ,
 “ the detriment of the Church, and the subversion of the coll. 2660.
 “ orthodox faith.” He adds, that “ he preached at Glou-
 “ cester on the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle.”

“ xii. That the Bishops who received money for sins
 “ are sons of the Devil.

“ xiii. That among all the doings that ever were, he be-
 “ lieved, the going on a crusade was the most malignant.

“ xiv. That they who promoted the cause of the crusade
 “ were thieves.

“ xv. That the promoters of the crusade induced Chris-
 “ tians to contribute their goods towards the murdering of
 “ men.

CHAP. "XVI. That the granters of a participation of all their
X. "spiritual goods are blasphemers.

"XVII. That Christ was born in a stable, and died on a
"cross, to shew his dislike of Caim's castles, to wit, the
"churches, and lofty houses of the Religious and Eccle-
"siastics."

Hist. Univ.
Oxon. p.
192.

But all these opinions he seems afterwards to have re-
canted; for by the Archbishop's letters, dated November
27, 1382, he was restored to the school exercises under
the name of John Ayshton, Scholar in Divinity.

Antiq.
Oxon. p.
190.

21. Philip Rampindon or Repingdon. He was another
of those who were convened before the Archbishop at his
court held at the Preaching Friars, London; and was a
noted preacher at Oxford. He was one of the Canons, and
afterwards Abbat of Leicester, and was reckoned at that
time a learned man, taking his Doctor of Divinity's de-
gree 1382. Having taken his Doctor's degree, he shewed
that he was addicted to Wiclif, which he had done once
before, when in a sermon, preached at Brackley in North-
amptonshire, he asserted Dr. Wiclif's notion of the Sacra-
ment of the Altar. In his first lecture therefore after his
being admitted Doctor, he began to commend Wiclif and
his doctrine, all which *in materia morali* he professed to
defend; but he said he had resolved to be silent a little
while, until it pleased God to enlighten the minds of the
Clergy concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, on which
argument he resolved to preach at St. Frideswide's on Cor-
pus Christi day. When the day appointed was come, the
Chancellor, Mayor, Proctors, and a vast multitude of peo-
ple, were present to hear the sermon. Repyngdon did all
he could to set his audience against the ecclesiastical
state, and defended Wiclif in every thing which he had
asserted: nay, he did not stick to affirm, as has been *inti-*
mated before, that whereas it was then the usage to pray for
the Pope, Bishops, and Clergy before the King, whosoever
did not pray for secular Lords before the Bishops, or even
the Pope himself, acted contrary to the commands of holy

Scripture. But being either terrified by the prosecution of the Archbishop, or allured with the hopes of advancement, he was afterwards brought off from his adherence to Wiclif, and became a very zealous persecutor of him and his followers. In the year 1405 he was by Papal provision made Bishop of Lincoln, and A. D. 1420, advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal.

22. Laurence Redman or Bedeman, alias Stephens. He was of Exeter College, and is named together with the three before mentioned in the King's letters patents to the Chancellor and Proctors of the University. He likewise recanted.

23. ⁱ John Purneye or Purveye, A. M. of Oxford. "He Knighton
"was," Knighton says, "only a Chaplain or Curate, hav- De Event.
"ing no benefice of his own, and was of a grave aspect Angliæ,
"and behaviour, affecting an appearance of sanctity coll. 2660.
"beyond the rest of his fellows. In his clothes and dress he
"went as an ordinary man, and little regarding his own
"ease, was unwearied in studying, by travelling up and
"down, to persuade the people, and bring them over to his
"sect, by his deceitful preachings, and by what other
"means he was able to use." Knighton proceeds to tell
us, that "Purneye imitated as well as he was able in his
"life and conversation the examples of the rest of his
"sect, and that being an invincible disciple of his master
"John Wicliffe, he conformed himself to his opinions, and
"fearlessly confirmed them in every respect like an able
"executor. For that he boarded with his master when he
"was alive, and so having drunk more plentifully of his

ⁱ Mr. Collier informs us, that Knighton calls this man Sir John Purneye, because he styles him Dominus Johannes Purneye, though a little after the same writer calls the Bishop of Lincoln, Dominus Episcopus Lincolniensis. But this English ecclesiastical historian is very fanciful in his translations: to give a few specimens: *Capellanus simplex* he translates *a chauntry Priest*: *Manu sua scribere fecit* is in his English *he turned preacher*: *Castra Cayni* he renders *Cain's camp*: and *ecclesias* he translates *monasteries*. Purveye wrote a Commentary on the xxth chapter of the Book of the Revelations, which was printed without a name A. D. 1528. Thomas Deckher says it was a Comment on the whole Book, by Dr. Wiclif. By Thorp he is called Thomas Purvey.

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X.

“instructions, he had more abundantly sucked them in,
 “and always, even to his dying day, as an inseparable
 “companion followed both him and his opinions and doc-
 “trines, being unwearied in his labours and endeavours to
 “propagate them. This John Purneye,” as Knighton goes
 on in his character of him, “as the rest of his sect did, al-
 “ways in all his sermons very much commended his fol-
 “lowers, or those who were of his sect; but as for others,
 “and especially the Mendicants, he always and every where
 “openly aspersed them with deadly detraction, and in
 “every third sentence, as it were, of every sermon he
 “preached, cunningly bringing in those who strove or
 “vied with their sect, commended the *true preachers*,
 “and giving them to understand that by other preachers
 “he meant as well the Churchmen as Mendicants he
 “barked against, as *false preachers*.” To conclude his
 character, Knighton tells us, that he preached at *Brys-*
towe, and publicly taught,

i. That the celebration of Mass is a human tradition,
 and not a Gospel one, and that Christ never ordained it.

ii. That Christ suffered in the opening or piercing of
 his side and heart.

iii. That every Priest ought rather to omit Matins,
 Mass, and Vespers, and the rest of the canonical hours,
 than not to preach the word of God, because those things
 are only ordained by human tradition.

iv. Every Priest may by the Divine law preach the word
 of God, without having any other licence.

v. The Bishops and others who hinder the preaching
 the word of God, do it that their sins may not be disco-
 vered.

vi. They who enter into any private religion are by this
 means rendered more unable to observe the command-
 ments of God.

vii. He who gives an alms to a Friar who preaches the
 Gospel, on account of his sermon, and he who receives it,
 are both guilty of simony, and are excommunicated.

viii. The Friars are maintained not as Friars, but as Pha-

risees, and ought to get their living, not by begging, but otherwise by the labour of their hands. CHAP.
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IX. No Priest ought to omit preaching the Gospel, nor any one else forbear to hear it preached, on account of his being excommunicated.

X. None of the private religions are in any thing so perfect, as men reckon they are.

XI. Every Curate or Parish Priest is in a more perfect state of life than any of the Religious, let them be of what private religion they will be.

XII. The Bishops who are learned and of a good life, encourage us to preach the word of God, that their sins may not be discovered.

N. B. This is a flat contradiction to Article vth, where the Bishops are said to hinder preaching for the same reason: and indeed the article contradicts itself; for what reason have those Bishops to be afraid of their misconduct and immoralities being laid open, who lead a good life?

XIII. That Bishop who will not consecrate the church of the poorest parish, unless he be paid forty shillings, although the whole parish be not able to pay it, and when forty pence are sufficient, suspends the said church, and so the parishioners for such a time are suspended from the Mass and all Sacraments, is guilty of simony, and an excommunicate.

For these opinions he was apprehended and imprisoned by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by horrid tortures forced to make his recantation at Paul's Cross A. D. 1396. After which the Archbishop promoted him in his own diocese to a benefice, as he told Thorp on his examination, but a mile from the castle of Saltwood, by which it should seem to be one of the churches at Hithe, and not improbably that of St. Mary's at West Hithe. However, the Archbishop said, he heard more complaints of *him* about his covetousness for tithes and other misdoings, than he did of all men that were advanced

Fox's Acts,
vol. i. p. 692.

CHAP. X. within his diocese, and therefore called him a false harlot. Accordingly Thorp told the Archbishop, that Purvie was neither with *him* for the benefice that he gave him, nor held faithfully with the learning that he taught and wrote beforetime. And afterwards he mentions him with Rampingdon, Hereford, and another whom he does not name, all which four, he said, had *consented to receive and hold temporal benefices, and lived now more worldly and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this world.* He was a second time imprisoned, A.D. 1421, by Archbishop Chichely, and very probably died in prison.

De Event.
Angliæ,
coll. 2661.

24. William Smith. Of this man Knighton gives us the following character: that “he was a smith by trade, and “as to his person despicable and deformed: that he was “desirous to marry a young girl, but being despised by “her, he broke out into so great an ostentation of piety, “that he despised all the desirable things of the world, “and perpetually renounced all female embraces, refused “the use of linen, would by no means eat either fish or “flesh, or any thing of that nature, shunned wine and ale “as so much poison, and for many years going barefoot, “he in the mean while learned to read and write.”

25. “This man,” he says, “and one Richard Wayt-
stathe, a Chaplain, stayed some time together in a certain
“chapel of St. John Baptist without Leicester, near the
“Leper’s Hospital, where the rest of that sect used to
“meet, and have their conventicles, and to advise toge-
“ther about their wicked designs: these two had got
* coleworts. “some * *cale* for their dinner, but wanted fuel to dress it:
“on which one of them looking about him, he espied in a
“corner of the chapel, an old image, which had been for-
“merly carved and painted in honour of St. Katharine.
“See, says he, my dear mate, God has now provided fuel
“for us to boil our *cale*, and satisfy our hunger. This
“holy image shall certainly be holy fuel. And so by the
“hatchet and fire it suffered a new martyrdom. For one
“of them took the hatchet, the other held the image,
“saying, Let us try whether this be really a true saint.

“ For if, when she is wounded in the head, she bleeds,
 “ she ought immediately to be adored by us as a saint :
 “ but if she does not bleed, she shall serve for fire to
 “ boil our coleworts, wherewith we may satisfy our hun-
 “ ger. For this,” he says, “ was the temper of the Lol-
 “ lards, that they hated images, and lay in wait for them,
 “ and represented them as idols, and despised them as
 “ counterfeits. And when any one named Saint Mary of
 “ Lincoln, or Saint Mary of Walsingham, they would call
 “ them the *wiche of Lincolle*, and *wiche of Walsyng-*
 “ *ham*, &c.”

26. William de Swyndurby. Knighton tells us, that Coll. 2665.
 “ the common people called him William the Hermit, be-
 “ cause he was formerly of that profession ; and that he
 “ was of a very inconstant and unsettled temper, attempt-
 “ ing many sorts and degrees of life, and being pleased
 “ with none of them. At his first coming to Leicester he
 “ lived an ordinary life in the town, and conversed among
 “ the people, and began to preach, taking for his subject the
 “ faults, and particularly the pride of the women : which
 “ so provoked the women of the place, the good and grave
 “ women as well as the bad, that they proposed to stone
 “ him out of the place. He therefore diverted from this
 “ subject, to preach to the merchants and rich men, fre-
 “ quently asserting in his preachings, *that none who had*
 “ *the riches of this world, and plenty of temporal goods,*
 “ *could obtain the kingdom of heaven :* and so very often
 “ discoursed of that matter, that had not the Divine cle-
 “ mency interposed, he had driven some honest men of
 “ the town into despair. Then he was for changing his
 “ way of living, and becoming a recluse, and by the favour
 “ of the Duke of Lancaster had a house in his park, and
 “ was provided with a maintenance ; and therefore,”
 Knighton tells us, “ he refused the gifts and presents
 “ which were sent him by some devout people of Leices-
 “ ter. Here, it seems, he lived some time, running some-
 “ times into the town, and sometimes going into the
 “ country. But when he had stayed there a little while, his

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“ bread and victuals began to fail him in his cupboard, and
 “ he himself every day grew cold and indifferent towards
 “ his solitary way of living, so that at length he was sick
 “ of it, but could not for shame return again to town. In
 “ the mean while, he got to be taken into the Abbey there
 “ for some time : but to shew the inconstancy of his mind,
 “ he was soon weary of his stay there, and desired to live
 “ another sort of life. He took therefore for his compa-
 “ nion William Smyth aforementioned, with whom he went
 “ to the chapel of St. John Baptist aforesaid near the Le-
 “ per’s House, and there had the company of others of
 Coll. 2666. “ Wicliff’s sect. For,” as Knighton tells us, “ in those
 “ days, that sect was had in great honour, and was very
 “ much ^kincreased. As to Swynderby, it seems, that he
 “ finding his former preaching against pride and vanity
 “ and the excessive love of this world, unacceptable to the
 “ laity and seculars, and that he did not by such preaching
 “ make such an addition to his sect as he desired, he di-
 “ rected his discourse against the liberties of the Church, and
 “ the Churchmen, and endeavoured all he could to blacken
 “ them and their reputation; *affirming that they lived*
 “ *lewd lives, and did ill receive the goods of the Church,*
 “ *and spend them worse:* and often preached, as did also
 “ the rest of his sect, as appears before, *that parishioners*
 “ *are not obliged to pay their tithes and offerings to their*
 “ *Curates, if they do not live chastely, and in all other*
 “ *respects as becomes the Priests of God: and also if they*
 “ *do not stay in the parish, and there spend the goods of*
 “ *the Church, where they receive them:* likewise if they
 “ are insufficient as to knowledge, or are unskilled in or
 “ not ready in speaking the language in which they are to
 “ preach, so that they cannot duly or sufficiently instruct
 “ the people: that in all these cases the parishioners may

^k This is confirmed by the letters patent of King Henry VI. for the erection of King’s College in Cambridge, intended by his father King Henry V. to have been settled at Oxford.—Ad errorum et heresium extirpationem qui quasi totum resperguntur in orbem, et solennium regnorum ac Universitatum pacem perturbant, regnumque nostrum Anglie in aliquibus ejus suppositis violarunt.

“withhold the tithes and offerings, and give them to
 “whomsoever they please. He preached likewise,” Knighton says, “that men may, consistent with charity, ask
 “those that owe them money for what they are indebted
 “to them, but may by no means sue them, or imprison
 “them for debt. Item, That a wicked Curate who excom-
 “municates his parishioners for detaining the tithes, ex-
 “torts money from them, unduly and wickedly. Item,
 “No one who lives contrary to the law of God is a Priest,
 “however he may have been ordained by the Bishop. By
 “his preaching and teaching these and many other such
 “like erroneous doctrines,” Knighton tells us, “he so cap- Coll. 2667.
 “tivated the affections of the people, that they said, they
 “had never seen nor heard any one who so well explained
 “the truth to them; and so revered him as another
 “God.

“When Bishop Bukkyngham or Bokyngham heard of
 “this, he immediately without any delay sent and sus-
 “pended him from all preaching for the future in the said
 “chapel, or other church or church-yard in the diocese of
 “Lincoln; and inhibited the people that none of them
 “should presume to hear him preach, nor favour the
 “preacher, under the penalty of excommunication. On
 “this, Swyndurby made him a pulpit on two mill-stones
 “which stood in the High Street near the chapel, and
 “called the people together, and there preached many
 “times in contempt of the Bishop, saying, *He could and*
 “*would, in spite of the Bishop’s teeth, preach in the*
 “*King’s highway, so long as he had the good will of the*
 “*people.* Then you might,” says Knighton, “see throngs
 “of people from every part, as well from the town as
 “country, double the number that there used to be before,
 “(when they might hear him much more lawfully) press-
 “ing to hear him preach after this inhibition, and thun-
 “dering out the sentence of excommunication against
 “him, for the sentence of excommunication was de-
 “nounced in the abbey, and in many other churches. In

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“ the mean while the Lord Bishop of Lincoln cited Swyndurby to appear in the cathedral church of Lincoln; who on the day appointed made his appearance. The Conclusions which he preached being objected to him, he had several days allowed him to deliberate upon them, and to answer to the things objected to him. At length he was publicly convicted of divers heresies and errors, and deserved to have been made fuel for the fire. Then did his followers lament, and strike their hands and heads against the wall, making a mournful noise. For a great many of the town of Leicester accompanied him every time, to give him their assistance, but all was to no purpose. But by chance the pious Duke of Lancaster was at Lincoln the same day, who was always ready to assist all the Lollards. For he believed them,” Knighton says, “ to be holy men of God, on account of their fair speeches and appearance, although he was deceived as well as many others. He interposed with the Bishop in behalf of Swyndurby, that his punishment might be changed for some other punishment. And the Bishop yielded to the Duke’s request according to the following form: *That he, the said Swyndurby, should in all the churches where he had preached such Conclusions as had been objected to him, publicly, in the holydays at the time of mass, declare with a loud voice, that he preached and taught those things which were false, and did recant the heresies and errors which he had preached, and of which he had been convicted, affirming, that they were repugnant to the determinations of holy Mother, and the holy Doctors. And that hereafter he would not preach in the diocese of Lincoln without he first had the licence of his Diocesan.* And all this he fulfilled in a little time after, first, in the cathedral church of Lincoln; then at Leicester in the churches of Holy Cross, St. Margaret, and the new hospital; and afterwards in the churches of Melton, Mowbraye, Loughtborowe, Halughton, and Hareburgh, being always accompanied by Master Stephen de Syres-

“ham, Vicar of Barrowe, at that time the Bishop’s Proc- CHAP.
 “tor, and specially deputed by the Bishop to see this X.
 “thing done.”

The Conclusions which were abjured by ¹Swyndurby were these that follow; as Knighton represents them.

i. That a child is not truly baptized, if either the Priest who baptizes it, or the godfather or godmother be in a mortal sin.

The ii, iii, iv, v, vi, are mentioned before.

vii. No Prelate may excommunicate any one, unless he first know that he is excommunicated of God.

viii. Any Priest may absolve a sinner that is contrite, and is obliged to preach the Gospel to the people, notwithstanding he is prohibited by the Bishop.

ix. A Priest who receives any thing yearly by agreement, is on that account a simoniac and excommunicate.

x. He firmly believes, as he says, that every Priest being in mortal sin, if he compose himself to make the body of Christ, rather commits idolatry than does what he attempts.

xi. The eleventh error, Knighton says, is too defamatory. No Priest goes into any house, but the wife, daughter, or maid of the house, is unhandsomely used by him, and therefore he entreated that husbands would be cautious how they suffered any Priest to come into their houses.

“These heresies and errors being thus publicly re-
 “tracted by Swinderby, he continued, it is said, at
 “Leicester, at the foresaid chapel of St. John Baptist,
 “very sad and sorrowful, the rather because they, who
 “whilst things succeeded prosperously with him seemed
 “to be his friends, now left him as it were desolate, and
 “neither visited him, nor comforted him, nor ministered to

Knighton
De Event.
coll. 2671.

¹ Mr. Fox tells us, that he was convented before John Bishop of Hereford on these Conclusions, and has given us from the registers Swindurby’s answer to them, wherein he shews how he was misrepresented by the promoters, and what his own sense was of those several articles. *Acts and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 610, 611, 612.

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“ him their usual allowance. For that Swinderby leaving
“ off preaching as he used to do, the applause and favour
“ of the people toward him began to cool, and every day
“ more and more to decrease, insomuch that Swinderby
“ himself grew weary of his life. And so in a little time
“ coming to himself, he privately fled out of town, and
“ went to Coventry, where within a short time he was
“ had in greater honour by the laity than he was before,
“ preaching there about a year, and teaching as he had
“ done, and by that means subverting a great many to his
“ execrable sect, till his fame and success in seducing the
“ people being observed, he was by the Diocesan and
“ Clergy expelled the diocese with shame and contempt.”

This is the account which Knighton gives of this man. And whosoever considers it must think it very partial and improbable. For is it at all likely, that, at that time, when the Clergy were so very intent on destroying heresy and error with fire and faggot, and made use of no other means to enlighten men's understandings than committing their bodies to the flames, if Swinderby had been convicted of heresy and error, and had publicly abjured, and afterwards relapsed, he would have been so gently dealt with as only to be made a jest of, and expelled the diocese? And therefore Walsingham gives us a very different account, and tells us, that “ when the Bishop of Lincoln
“ had made preparations to correct this man, and to take
“ away from him his licence to preach, the mad multitude
“ raged in such a manner as frightened the Bishop, and
“ deterred him from proceeding against him.”

Hist. Ang.
p. 284.

27. Richard Caistre, born in Norfolk near Norwich, and Vicar of St. Stephen's in that city, secretly favoured the doctrines of Wiclif, and freely reprov'd in his sermons the corrupt manners of the Priests, which was all he could do to reform them. He had a reputation for learning, but especially for piety, being commonly called Caistre the good.

28. William Taylor, M.A. of Oxford, being converted by Wiclif's sermons, became not only a favourer, but a

zealous assertor of his doctrines. He was a Priest of an unblameable life, and boldly protested against the superstitions and idolatries of those times. He proved from Scripture that prayers ought not to be addressed to departed saints, but to God alone; and that the worshipping of images was abominable to God. He was prevailed upon to recant nine articles tendered to him, but recovering from his weakness, he avowed the truth more boldly, and with great constancy was burnt in Smithfield, March 2, A.D. 1422.

29. David Gotray of Pakrynge, a Monk of Bylande, and Doctor of Divinity in Oxford. He met with a great deal of trouble. Thorp, in his examination, calls him David Gotraie of Pakringe, Monk of Biland and Master of Divinity; and says of him, that he was, when he first went to him for his advice, holden a right wise man and prudent. But it seems as if he, to avoid persecution, abjured his opinions.

MS. in Hyperoo Bodl. 163.

30. John Ashwarby, S. T. D. of Oxford, and Vicar of St. Mary's, of an excellent wit, and an eloquent preacher.

31. Robert Rigge, D. D. and Chancellor of Oxford, 1381, of whom before.

32, 33. Walter Dasche, John Hunton, Masters of Arts of Oxford, and Proctors in 1381.

34. William Courtney. Who he was I cannot say. One William Courtney, Professor of Civil Law, was Chancellor of Oxford in 1367, and promoted to the bishopric of Hereford in 1369, and was translated from thence to London 1375, and was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and a violent persecutor of the poor Wicliffites: so that it is not at all probable that he is meant. The writer says of this Courtney, that he, Rigge, and the two Proctors *variā pertulerunt incommoda*, suffered many ways. Perhaps it was Richard Courtney who was Chancellor of Oxford in 1406, 1411, and Bishop of Norwich 1413, who seems to have been a favourer of Wiclif, as has been shewn before.

35. Richard * Wyth, a very learned Priest, and famous * Wiche. preacher. He recanted.

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36. Henry Croompe, a Cistercian Monk of Balkynglas of the diocese of Meath in Ireland, an Oxford Doctor, and formerly an adversary of Wiclif's.

37. William James, a learned man, and Regent in Arts at Oxford, and a very eloquent speaker.

38. Thomas Britwell, S. T. P.

* Osyth,
als. Bennet
Shere Hog.

39. William^m Sawtre, Parish-priest of Saint * Seithe the Virgin, in London, a man of an innocent life. In 1400 he was convened before the Convocation, and forced to recant the errors he was accused of, which were these that follow.

Fox's Acts
and Monu-
ments, vol.
i. p. 672.

I. That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross.

II. *Item*, That he would sooner worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross.

III. *Item*, That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints, than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.

IV. *Item*, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the cross of Christ.

V. *Item*, That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, than an angel of God.

VI. *Item*, That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expences of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

VII. *Item*, That every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours.

VIII. *Item*, That after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

But Sawtre afterwards retracting his recantation, he was sentenced as incorrigible, and to be again fallen into he-

^m Alias Sautre. He is said to be the first English Protestant that was burnt for an heretic. But he was only Curate under Newton, then Rector of this church. *Newcourt Repert.* vol. i. p. 305.

resy, and therefore to be degraded, and deposed, which sentence was accordingly executed, and he himself soon after burnt. CHAP.
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40. William Thorpe, A. M. He had in a little tract which he wrote complained very much of the wickedness of the Popish Clergy. Which so provoked them, that he was apprehended and put in prison at Shrewsbury, and from thence removed to the Archbishop's prison in the castle of Saltwood in Kent; and brought before Archbishop Arundel, by whom he was examined, and very probably imprisoned for his life. The examination of him by the Archbishop, written by Thorpe himself, was printed and put forth, Sir Thomas More tells us, by George Constantine as it was reported. It was afterwards re-printed by Mr. Fox. Fox's Acts
and Monu-
ments, vol.
i. p. 689.
Thorp's
Testament.
A. D. 1407.
English
Works.

41. William Whyght, Priest. He was burnt in Norwich, 1424.

42. Thomas Hagley, or Bagley, Vicar of Manueden in Essex; being suspected of heresy for affirming that *the consecrated Host is true bread in its nature, and the body of Christ in figure*, he was, in a Convocation held at London, March 2, 1430, and for several other heretical opinions, as they were then accounted, convicted of heresy, and degraded, and then burnt in Smithfield. Reg. Cant.
Chichley,
part ii. fol.
82.

43. Richard English, Priest, Vicar of Hermetsworth. This is all I find of this man; where Hermetsworth is, I know not.

44. Thomas Hilman, or Hulman, S. T. B. of Merton College in Oxford. He was no small admirer of Wiclif.

45. Richard Fleming, illustrious for learning, was born at Croston in Yorkshire. After he had taken his degree of Master of Arts in Oxford, he openly favoured and defended Dr. Wiclif's doctrine, and was opposed in the public schools by Nicholas Pont of Merton College, a great adversary both to that and to him. But Church preferences heaped on Fleming made him change his mind, or, however, his behaviour, and he became a very great enemy to the doctrine he had before so strenuously asserted. He Godwin's
History of
K. Henry V.
Bale, p. 575.
Wood's An-
tiq. Oxon.
lib. ii. p.
159.

CHAP.
X.

1425.

Coll. MS. V.
C. Tho.
Baker.

Statuta Coll.
Regalis.

accordingly designed Lincoln College, founded by him 1428, for a seminary to educate those who should oppose it. In 1396 he was one of the twelve censors chosen by the University to examine Dr. Wiclif's writings, and in 1420 was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln. He was afterward by his patron, the Pope, translated to York; but the King refused giving his consent. He was sent afterwards to the Council of Siena, and after his return caused Dr. Wiclif's bones to be taken out of his grave, in pursuance of a decree of the Council of Constance, to which in his zeal he added the burning them. He died January 25, 1430, and was buried in his own cathedral.

46. Peter Hirforde. I can give no other account of him than that February 22, A. D. 1412, he abjured Dr. Wiclif's opinions at Cambridge, in full Congregation, before the Reverend Mr. Eudo de la Zouche, LL.D. then Chancellor of the University, and is the only instance in the records of that University of persons favouring Dr. Wiclif's tenets. So remarkable was it for supposed orthodoxy, or in the words of King Henry VI. "eorum heresium ab inventionibus——immaculata."

47. Thomas White. In the Acts of his Examination before William Bishop of Norwich, 1428, he is charged with teaching, that the law of matrimony ordained by Christ freely for every one of the three states of the Church militant, *viz.* the *Clergy*, *Gentry*, and *Commonalty*, the Pope who is Antichrist, with his counsellors who are Lucifer's clerks, has to the destruction of the Priesthood in England weakened or annulled, since the loosing of Satan, or the thousandth year after Christ.

48. William de Manli. Some postills of his are in MS. in the library of Bene't College in Cambridge, on which is written, as is supposed, by Archbishop Usher, this note. "This postiller does not handle his sermons sophistically or scholastically, but sincerely and purely, and almost all is taken from the word of God." He in his studies made use of the advice of Peter Pain of Oxford before mentioned.

49. Walter Britte. He is said to have been of Merton CHAP.
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College in Oxford, and one of those who in 1360 opposed
the beloved tenet of the Begging Friars, that Christ beg-
ged for a livelihood. He afterwards preached in the dio-
cese of Hereford, and was by the Bishop cited to appear
before him and some of his Clergy in his cathedral at
Hereford. But this he refusing to do, the King, at the
Bishop's solicitation, published a proclamation, in which A.R. 17.
he straitly forbade him or any other, on any pretence A.D. 1393.
whatsoever, to hold any conventicles, &c. within the dio-
cese of Hereford, on pain of forfeiting all they had to for-
feit.

John Brut. His Conclusions were condemned 1393.

PAPERS AND RECORDS

DEPOSITED IN

IN THE FOREGOING HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF DR. JOHN WICLIF.

and of this nature. It is said to have been of the year 1380.

College in Oxford, and one of those who in 1380 opposed

the papal decree of the legating Friars that Christ had

fallen in his blood. The sentence pronounced in the dis-

case of Wicliffe, and was by the Bishop cited to appear

before him and some of his clergy in his cathedral at

Hereford: that this he refused to do, the king, at the

Bishop's solicitation published a proclamation, in which A.D. 1382

he strictly forbade him or any other, on any pretence

whatsoever, to hold any conference, and within the dis-

trict of Hereford, any pain of forfeiting all they had and to for-

feit themselves two and in prison was committed.

John Wicliffe his Condemnation was continued 1382.

Wicliffe departed on 29th April 1384, and was buried

in the church of St. Mary at Hereford, and was buried

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COLLECTION

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COLLECTION

OF

PAPERS AND RECORDS

REFERRED TO

IN THE FOREGOING HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF DR. JOHN WICLIF.

A
COLLECTION
OF
PAPERS AND RECORDS
RELATIVES TO
THE FORGOING HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF DR. JOHN WICKLIFFE

A
COLLECTION

OF

PAPERS AND RECORDS.

No. 1.

Specialis Licentia Domini Regis Edwardi III. pro appro- MS. in Bibl.
priatione Advocationis Ecclesie de Pageham, Aula Lam. No.
Cantuariensi in Oxonia. 104. fol.

EDWARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ et Aquitaniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentēs hæc pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali, et ad devotam supplicationem venerabilis Patris Simonis Cant. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis, et Apostolicæ sedis Legati pie desiderantis incrementum salubre cleri regni nostri propter multiplicationem doctrinæ salutaris, quæ jam per præsentem epidemiam noscitur plurimum defecisse, Concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, eidem Archiepiscopo, quod ipse in Universitate Oxon. quandam Aulam sive Domum Aulam Cantuariensem vulgariter et communiter vocitandam, in qua certus erit numerus scholarium tam religiosorum quam secularium artibus scolasticis insistentium et Deo pro nobis et salute Regni nostri specialiter exorantium secundum formam ordinationis inde per eundem Archiepiscopum super hoc faciendæ, suis sumptibus erigere poterit et fundare, et eisdem scholaribus in perpetuum assignare, et in eventu quo Domus sive Aula sit

fundata, et scolares in ea assignati fuerint, Advocationem Ecclesiæ de Pageham suæ jurisdictionis immediatæ, quæ est de advocatione sua propria, et de jure suo Archiepiscopali, et quæ de nobis tenetur in capite, ut dicitur, eisdem scholaribus, et successoribus suis dare possit, et etiam assignare, habendum et tenendum præfatis scholaribus et successoribus suis de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum; et eisdem scholaribus quod ipsi tam aulam quam advocationem prædictas a præfato Archiepiscopo recipere, et Ecclesiam illam appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis prædictis, pro nobis et salute Regni nostri oraturi juxta ordinationem prædicti Archiepiscopi, de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum sicut prædictum est, Tenore præsentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem, statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante, Nolentes quod prædicti Archiepiscopus vel successores sui aut præfati scolares seu successores sui ratione præmissorum, seu statuti prædicti, aut pro eo quod dicta advocatio de nobis tenetur in capite, sicut prædictum est, per nos vel hæredes nostros Justitiæ Estaetores, Vicecomites, aut alios ballivos seu ministros nostros quoscunque occasionentur, molestantur in aliquo seu graventur. Salvis tamen nobis et hæredibus nostris, ac aliis capitalibus Dominis feodi illius servitiis inde debitis et consuetis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium xxº. die Octobris anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto.

A. D. 1361.

No. 2.

Charta Foundationis Aulæ Cantuariensis, et Donationis MS. in Bibl.
Manerii de Wodeford Lincoln. Dioceseos dictæ Fun- Lam. No.
dationi. 104. fol.

SAPIENTIA Dei Patris per uterum beatæ Virginis volens prodire in publicum sicut ætate proficere voluit sic gratiæ et sapientiæ suæ munera paulatim aliis proficiendo secundum processum ætatis suæ magis ac magis realiter ostendebat, ut alii qui ab ejus plenitudine fuerint particulariter sapientiam recepturi prius humiliter addiscerent et proficiendo crescerent in doctrina, posteaque quod sic didicerint aliis salubriter revelarent. Quia igitur per sapientiam sic non absque sudore et laboribus adquisitam reguntur regna et in justitia confoventur, Ecclesia militans germinat et sua diffundit tentoria: Nos Simon permissione Divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, ad hæc sepius revolventes intima cordis nostri, ac considerantes viros in omni scientia doctos et expertos in epidinnis præteritis plurimum defecisse, paucissimosque propter defectum exhibitionis ad præsens insistere studio literarum, de magnificæ Trinitatis gratia, et meritis beati Thomæ martyris patroni nostri firmiter confidentes, de bonis nobis a Deo collatis Aulam quandam in Universitate Oxon. et nostræ provinciæ de consensu et licentia serenissimi principis Domini Edwardi Regis Angliæ illustris, in loco quem ad hoc nostris sumptibus comparavimus, construximus et fundavimus, quam pro duodenario studentium numero duximus ordinandum. In partem igitur dotis et sustentationis ipsius Collegii octo hospitia conductitia juxta situm loci in quo habitationem hujusmodi studentium assignavimus consistentia, quæ gravibus sumptibus nostris et expensis propterea specialiter adquisivimus per hanc Cartam nostram conferimus et donamus, et etiam assignamus: Maneriumque de Wodeford Lincoln. Dioceseos ad perdilectum Nepotem

nostrum Willelmum de Islep spectans cum omnibus suis pertinentiis eidem collegio procuravimus assignari. Datum apud Maghfeld Idus Aprilis Anno Domini 1363, et nostræ Consecrationis XIV.

Instrumentum præcedentis Cartæ.

Ibid.

In Dei nomine Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum omnibus innotescat, quod Anno ejusdem Domini 1363, secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Indictione secunda Pontificis sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Urbani digna Dei providentia Papæ Quinti anno secundo, mensis Februarii die quarto, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Simone Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate, et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, in Camera sua infra Manerium suum apud Cheryng Cant. Dioceseos personaliter constituto, producta fuit, exhibita et lecta quædam carta ipsius patris sigillo mei notarii subscripto satis noto consignata, quam idem Dominus Archiepiscopus asseruit se fecisse, et contenta in eadem rata, grata et firma se habere velle perpetuis temporibus valiturum: Cujus quidem Cartæ tenor de verbo ad verbum sequitur in hæc verba. *Sapientia Dei Patris per uterum beatæ Virginis volens prodire, &c.* Consecrationis xiv. acta fuerunt hæc anno indictionis Pontificiæ, mense, die et loco prædictis præsentibus venerabili in Christo Patre Domino Willelmo Dei gratia Episcopo Roffensi, Magistris Nicholao de Chaddesden, Legum Doctore Canonico Ecclesiæ Lichfieldensis, Cancellario dicti Domini Archiepiscopi, Willelmo Tankerville Rectore Ecclesiæ de Lawfar London. Johanne Barbo Clerico Roffensis Dioceseos testibus ad præmissum rogatis.

Et Ego Richardus Wodelond de Calceto Clericus Cices-trensis Dioceseos, notarius Apostolica auctoritate publicus, productioni, exhibitioni, et lecturæ Cartæ prædictæ assertioni et ratihabitioni dicti Domini Archiepiscopi ac omnibus et singulis prout superius scribuntur et recitantur una cum præfatis testibus interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic vidi fieri et audivi veramque copiam sive transcriptum ip-

sus Cartæ superius descriptæ aliis negotiis occupatus per alium scribi feci, et hic me subscripsi et signum meum apposui præsentibus consuetum.

*Willelmi de Islep confirmatio prædictæ Donationis
Manerii de Wodeford.*

Sciunt præsentēs et futuri quod Ego Willelmus de Islep Ibid.
ad instantiam Domini mei Domini Simonis Dei gratia
Cant. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Apostolicæ
sedis Legati, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi Custodi et Clericis Aulæ Collegiatæ Cant. per ipsum
Dominum meum in Universitate Oxon. noviter fundatæ,
Manerium meum quod habeo in Wodeford cum omnibus
suis pertinentiis in Comitatu Northampton, habendum et
tenendum prædictum Manerium cum omnibus suis terris,
pratis, pascuis, pasturis, redditibus, homagiis, servitiis, stag-
nis, vivariis, aquis molendinis, gardinis, columbariis cum
omnibus aliis suis pertinentiis prædictis, Custodi et Clericis
et eorum successoribus in perpetuum tenendum de capita-
libus Dominis feodi per servitia inde debita, et de Jure
consueta. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum præ-
sentibus apposui, his testibus, venerabili in Christo Patre
Domino Willelmo Dei gratia Roffensi Episcopo, Magistro
Nicholao de Chaddesden Legum Doctore Cancellario, Do-
mino Johanne Waleys milite, Dominis Thoma de Wolton
seneschallo terrarum et Willelmo Islep cruciferario dicti
Domini Archiepiscopi et multis aliis. Et ad majorem se-
curitatem præmissorum Ego Willelmus de Islep supradic-
tus præsentem cartam subscriptione et signi appositione
Magistri Richardi Wodeland Clerici Notarii auctoritate
Apostolica publici ad requisitionem meam specialem feci
et obtinui communiri. Datum apud Maghefeld quarto die
mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo ccclxiii, et anno
Regni Regis tertii post conquestum xxxvii.

Et Ego Richardus Wodeland de calceto Clericus Cices-
trensīs Dioceseos Notarius Apostolica auctoritate publicus
dationi, et confirmationi, et concessioni prædictis, et sigilli
appositioni cartæ prædictæ una cum suprascriptis testi-

bus, loco, die, mense et anno Domini supradictis, indicatione prima Pontificis sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Urbani digna Dei providentia Papæ quinti anno primo, præsens interfui et præfatum Willelmum de Islep dictam cartam perlegere audivi, et ad rogatum dicti Willelmi hic me subscripsi, et signum meum apposui præsentibus consuetum in testimonium præmissorum.

No. 3.

Historia et
Ant. Oxon.
p. 184.
Ex Registro
Islep in Ar-
chivis Lam-
bethanis.
fol. 306.

Instrumentum Collationis Johannis de Wyclyve Guardianui Aulæ Cantuariensis in Universitate Oxoniæ.

SIMON, &c. Dilecto filio Magistro Johanni de Wyclyve salutem. Ad vitæ tuæ et conversationis laudabilis honestatem, literarumque scientiam, quibus personam tuam in artibus magistratum altissimus insignivit, mentis nostræ oculos dirigentes, ac de tuis fidelitate, circumspectione, et industria plurimum confidentes, in custodem Aulæ nostræ Cantuar. per nos noviter Oxoniæ fundatæ te præficimus, tibi que curam et administrationem custodiæ hujusmodi incumbentes juxta ordinationem nostram in hac parte committimus per præsentem, reservata nobis receptione juramenti corporalis per te nobis præstandi debiti in hac parte. Dat. apud Maghefeld vº idus Decemb. anno Domini MCCCLXV, et nostræ XVI.

No. 4.

Ecel.Christ.
Cant. Reg.
K. fol. 67.

Verba Ordinationis quoad Custodem Aulæ Cantuar. Domino Archiepiscopo nominandum.

— et debet ipse præfici sicut cæteri monachi officarii dictæ Ecclesiæ per Dominum Archiepiscopum præficiendi viz. Prior et Capitulum eligent de toto Capitulo

tres personas ydoneas et meliores in religione et scientia ad dictam Curam, et eos in scriptura communi Domino Archiepiscopo nominabunt quorum unum ex illis sic nominatis quem voluerit Archiepiscopus præficiet in Custodem, Curam et Administrationem tam spiritualium quam temporalium ad ipsam Aulam pertinentium sibi plenius committendo.

No. 5.

Nominatio Custodis Aulæ Cant. noviter fundatæ in Universitate Oxon. per Reverendum Patrem Dominum Simonem de Islep Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.

REVERENDO in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino Simoni Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ Primati, et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, Vestri humiles et devoti Prior et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. obedientiam, reverentiam et honorem. Ad curam et officium Custodis Aulæ Cantuar. in Universit. Oxon. per vos noviter fundatæ Fratres Henricum de Wodhulle sacræ paginæ Doctorem, Johannem de Redyngate et Willielmum Rychemond nostros confratres et commonachos Vobis juxta formam et effectum Ordinationis vestræ factæ in hac parte, Tenore presentium nominamus. Supplicantes quatinus unum ex illis tribus sic nominatis quem volueritis in Custodem dictæ Aulæ præficere, et eidem curam et administrationem tam spiritualium quam temporalium ad ipsam Aulam pertinentium committere dignetur vestra paternitas reverenda, quam ad Ecclesiæ suæ Regimen conservet in prosperis Trinitas indivisa. Dat. sub sigillo nostro communi in Domo nostra Capitulari Cant. xiii die Martii anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} LXII^{do}.

No. 6.

Regist.
Langham.
fol. 98.

JOHANNES de Radyngate Monachus Cant. factus est Custos Aulæ Cant. Oxon. a Simone Langham Archiepiscopo Cant. Anno 1367 0ⁱⁱ Cal. Apr. Mandatum tamen revocatum est ab Arch^o x Cal. Maii sequentis et Henricus de Wodhall Monachus Cant. factus Custos directo ad Joannem Wycliff et cæteros scholares Aulæ Cant. mandato ut obedirent ei.

No. 7.

MS. in Bib.
Lamb. No.
104. fol.

Mandatum Apostolicum ad exequendam sententiam Cardinaliis Andruyni contra Wiclyffum.

URBANUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Episcopo Londoniensi, et dilectis filiis Abbati Monasterii sancti Albani, Lincoln. Dioceseos, ac Archidiacono Oxon. in Ecclesia Lincoln. Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Petitio dilectorum filiorum Prioris et Capituli Cant. Ecclesiæ ordinis Sancti Benedicti nobis exhibita continebat quod licet Collegium Aula Cant. nuncupatum scholarum Universitatis Oxon. Lincoln. Dioces. in quo quidem Collegio nonnulli Clerici et scholares esse consueverant, per unum ex Monachis dictæ Ecclesiæ qui Custos dicti Collegii esse tres alios Monachos dictæ Ecclesiæ secum habere debet, prout in ipsius Collegii fundatione extitit Canonice ordinatum, regi debent: Tamen dilecti filii Johannes de Wycliff, Willelmus Selbi, Willelmus Middleworth, Richardus Benger, Clerici Eboracensis, Saresburiensis et Oxon. Dioceseos false asserentes dictum Collegium per Clericos seculares regi debere, dictumque Johannem fore Custodem Collegii supradicti, ac Henricum de Wodehall Monachum dictæ Cant. Ecclesiæ ac Custodem dicti Colle-

gii, ac nonnullos Monachos dictæ Ecclesiæ cum præfato Henrico in dicto Collegio commorantes de ipso Collegio excluserunt, ipsosque Collegio ipsis ac bonis inibi existentibus in quorum possessione iidem Henricus et alii Monachi existebant, spoliarunt, et nonnulla alia in ipsorum Monachorum præjudicium acceptarunt, nec non omnia bona dicti Collegii occuparant, propter quod dilectus filius noster Simon t. t. sancti Sixti Presbyter Cardinalis tunc Archiepiscopus Cant. videns et prospiciens hujusmodi bona dicti Collegii per dictum Johannem et alios Clericos supradictos qui ipsius Johannis consortes erant dissipari, fructus parochialis Ecclesiæ de Pageham Cicestrens. Dioc. sub Jurisdictione Archiep. Cant. pro tempore existentis, consistentis sequestrari fecit, ortaue propterea inter Johannem de Wyclyff et ejus consortes ex una parte et dictum Cardinalem super præmissis et eorum occasione ex altera, materia quæstionis. Nos tamen hujusmodi cum partes ipsæ in Romana Curia sufficienter præsentis existerent, bonæ memoriæ Andruyno t. t. sancti Marcelli presbytero Cardinali ad earum partium instantiam audiendam commissimus, et fine debito terminandam. Et quod idem Andruynus Cardinalis prout ei melius et utilius pro statu dicti Collegii videretur expedire posset a dicto Collegio Clericos seculares amovere, vel si ei utilius videretur pro Collegio supradicto religiosos supradictos ab ipso Collegio auctoritate prædicta amovere, ita quod unicum et solum Collegium regularium vel secularium remaneret, cum potestate etiam in dicta causa simpliciter, et de plano, ac sine strepitu et figura judicii procedendi. Coram quo Magistris Richardo Bangero procuratore Johannis et ejus consortium prædictorum, ac Alberto de Mediolano per Magistrum Rogerum de Treton, procuratorem dictorum Simonis Cardinalis, nec non Prioris et Capituli prædictorum. Qui quidem Prior et Capitulum pro interesse suo ad causam hujusmodi veniebant, substituto donec eum revocaret prout eum ad hoc ab ipsis Simone Cardinale ac Priore et Capitulo sufficiens mandatum habebat in judicio comparentibus tandem postquam inter partes ipsas coram eodem Cardinali

ad nonnullos actus in causa hujusmodi processum fuerat, præfatus Richardus quandam petitionem summariam pro parte sua exhibuit in causa supradicta. Postmodum vero nos eidem Andruyno Card. commisimus ut in causa hujusmodi sola facti veritate inspecta procedere, etiam terminis secundum stilum palatii Apostolici servari consuetis non servatis, postmodum vero præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Card. in judicio comparens nonnullas positiones et articulos quandam petitionem summariam in eorum fine continentes pro parte sua tradidit in causa supradicta, ac deinde cum generales vacationes in dicta Curia de mandato nostro inditæ fuissent, Nos eidem Andruyno Cardinali commisimus ut in causa hujusmodi procedere et partes ipsas per suas literas portis Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affigendas citare posset quociens opus esset, non obstantibus vacationibus supradictis. Idemque Andruynus Cardinalis ad ipsius Rogeri instantiam præfatum Johannem Wycliff et ejus consortes, cum dictus Richardus procurator in dicta curia diligenter perquisitus reperiri non posset per suas certi tenoris literas portis dictæ Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affixas ad producendum et ad produci videndum omnia jura et munimenta quibus partes ipsæ vellent in causa hujusmodi uti, citari fecit ad certum peremptorium terminum competentem in quo præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Cardinali in judicio comparens prædictorum citatorum non comparentium contumaciam actitavit et in ejus contumaciam nonnullas literas autenticas instrumenta publica et alia jura et munimenta quibus pro parte sua in hujusmodi causa voluit uti produxit, idemque Andruynus Cardinalis ad ipsius Rogeri instantiam prædictum Richardum tunc in prædicta Curia repertum ad dicendum contra eadem producta quidquid vellet per portarium suum juratum citari fecit ad certum peremptorium terminum competentem, in quo præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Cardinali in judicio comparens prædicti Ricardi non comparentis contumaciam accentuavit, præfatusque Andruynus Cardinalis ad dicti Rogeri instantiam prædictum Ricardum ad concludendum et concludi videndum in causa hujus-

modi vel dicendum causam rationabilem quare in ea concludi non deberet, per portarium suum juratum citari fecit ad certum terminum peremptorium competentem, in quo Magistro Johanne Cheyne substituto de novo per dictum Rogerum donec eum revocaret, prout ad hoc a præfatis Dominis suis sufficiens mandatum habebat coram eodem Andruyno Cardinali in judicio comparente, et dicti Ricardi non comparentis contumaciam actitante, et in ejus contumaciam in hujusmodi causa concludi petente, supradictus Andruynus Cardinalis reputans eundem Richardum quoad hoc, prout erat merito contumaciæ in ejus contumaciam cum dicto Johanne Cheyne in hujusmodi causa concludente, conclusit et habuit pro concluso. Subsequenter vero præfatus Andruynus Cardinalis prædictos Johannem de Wyclyff et ejus consortes, cum dictus Richardus procurator latitaret et diligenter perquisitus in præfata Curia reperiri non posset, ad suam in causa hujusmodi diffinitivam sententiam audiendam per suas certi tenoris literas portis dictæ Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affixas citari fecit, ad competentem peremptoriam certam diem, in quo dicto Rogero coram eodem Andruyno Cardinali in judicio comparente, et dictorum citatorum non comparentium contumaciam accusante, et in eorum contumaciam sententiam ipsam ferri petente, memoratus Andruynus Cardinalis reputans eosdem citatos quoad actum hujusmodi, prout erant merito contumaces in eorum contumaciam visis et diligenter inspectis omnibus et singulis actibus actitatis, habitis et productis in causa hujusmodi coram eo, ipsisque cum diligentia recensitis et examinatis, habito super his consilio cum peritis per suam diffinitivam sententiam ordinavit, pronunciavit, decrevit et declaravit solos Monachos prædictæ Ecclesiæ Cant. Secularibus exclusis debere in dicto Collegio, Aula [Cantuar.] nuncupato, perpetuo remanere, ac exclusionem et spoliationem contra prædictos Monachos per dictum Johannem de Wyclyff et ejus consortes prædictos attemptatas fuisse, et esse, temerarias, injustas et de facto præsumptas, easque in quantum de facto processerint, revocandas et irritandas fore, et

quantum in eo fuit revocavit et irritavit. Et Henricum ac alios Monachos supradictos sicut præmittitur, spoliatos et de facto exclusos ad Collegium nec non omnia bona mobilia et immobilia supradicta restituendos et reintegrandos fore, ac restituit et reintegravit, nec non fructuum sequestrationem ad utilitatem dictorum Monachorum relaxavit. Et insuper Johanni de Wyclyff et ejus consortibus supradictis super præmissis perpetuum silentium imponendum fore et imposuit prout in instrumento publico inde confecto dilecti filii nostri Bernardi duodecim Apostolorum Presbyteri Cardinalis, cui nos præfato Andruyno Cardinali antequam instrumentum super hujusmodi sententiam confectum sigillasset vita functo, commisimus ut instrumentum sigillaret, sigillo munito plenius dicitur contineri. Nos itaque dictorum Prioris et Capituli supplicationibus inclinati hujusmodi diffinitivam sententiam utpote proinde latam, ratam habentes et gratam, eamque auctoritate Apostolica confirmantes discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios sententiam ipsam executioni debite demandantes, eamque ubi et quando expedire videritis, auctoritate nostra solempniter publicantes Henricum et alios monachos prædictos ad dictum Collegium, Aula [Cant.] nuncupatum, nec non ejus bona mobilia et immobilia supradicta, amotis exinde dictis Johanne de Wyclyff et ejus consortibus prædictis, auctoritate nostra restituatis, et reintegretis, ac restitutos et reintegratos juxta illius exigentiam defendatis Contradictores per Censuram Ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Dat. Viter-

A. D. 1370. bii v. idus Maii Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

No. 8.

Regia Pardonatio omnium Foris facturarum Aulæ Cantuarien. et eidem pertinentium, et Confirmatio Papalis Sententiæ Deprivationis Wicliffe.

MS. in Bibl.
Lamb. No.
104. fol.

EDWARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ: Omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod cum nuper ut accepimus de gratia nostra speciali et ad devotam supplicationem Simonis tunc Archiepiscopi Cant. qui de Islep cognominatus extiterat pie desiderantis incrementum salubre Cleri nostri propter multiplicationem doctrinæ salutaris per literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro concesserimus et licentiam dederimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quantum in nobis erat eidem Archiepiscopo quod ipse in Universitate Oxon. quandam Aulam sive Domum Aulam Cant. vulgariter et communiter vocitandam, in qua certus foret numerus scholarium tam Religiosorum quam Secularium actibus scholasticis insistentium, et Deo pro nobis et salute Regni nostri specialiter exorantium, secundum ordinationis formam inde per eundem Archiepiscopum super hoc faciendæ, suis sumptibus erigere possit et fundare, et eisdem scholaribus in perpetuum assignare, et in eventu quo Domus sive Aula sic fundata et scolares in ea assignati forent, advocacionem Ecclesiæ de Pageham Jurisdictionis ipsius Archiepiscopi immediatæ, quæ quidem Ecclesia de advocacione propria ejusdem Archiepiscopi, ut de jure suo Archiepiscopali extiterat, et quæ quidem Advocatio de nobis tenebatur in capite, ut dicebatur, eisdem scholaribus dare posse et etiam assignare habendum et tenendum præfatis scholaribus et successoribus suis de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum, et eisdem scholaribus quod ipsi tam Aulam quam advocacionem prædictas a præfato Archiepiscopo recipere, et Ecclesiam illam appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possent sibi et successoribus suis prædictis pro

nobis et salute regni nostri oraturi juxta ordinationem prædicti Archiepiscopi de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum sicut prædictum est: Dictusque Archiepiscopus postmodum juxta dictam licentiam nostram quandam Aulam Collegiatam sub certo solum studentium numero in Universitate prædicta vocabulo Aulæ Cantuariensis erexerit, et fundaverit, certosque Monachos Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. unum videlicet Monachum Custodem Aulæ ejusdem, cæterosque scolares in eadem una cum certis aliis scholaribus secularibus in Aula prædicta ordinaverit et constituerit, et eis Aulam illam, nec non advocationem prædictam dederit et assignaverit eisdem Custodi et Scholaribus et successoribus suis perpetuo possidendas, ipsique Custos et Scholares dictas Aulam et advocationem a præfato Archiepiscopo receperint, ac Ecclesiam prædictam sibi et successoribus suis in proprios usus una cum Aula prædicta in perpetuum habendam appropriaverit, ac deinde *præter licentiam nostram supradictam* amotis omnino per prædictum Archiepiscopum dictis Custode et cæteris Monachis Scholaribus videlicet regularibus ab Aula prædicta, idem Archiepiscopus quendam scolarem Custodem dictæ Aulæ, ac cæteros omnes scolares in eadem scolares duntaxat constituerit eisdem Custodi et Scholaribus secularibus duntaxat in proprios usus perpetuo possidendam dederit et assignaverit, ipsique Custos et Scholares seculares duntaxat Aulam et Ecclesiam prædictam ex tunc continuatis temporibus durante vita præfati Archiepiscopi possederit tam fructus dictæ Ecclesiæ quam alia bona ad Aulam prædictam spectantia usibus suis propriis applicaverit, et demum defuncto dicto Archiepiscopo et Reverendo in Christo Patre Simone t. t. sancti Sixti, Presbytero Cardinali tunc in Archiepiscopum Cant. consecrato idem Archiepiscopus tunc Cardinalis fructus dictæ Ecclesiæ de Pageham sequestrari fecerit, orta que præterea inter dictos Custodem et Scholares seculares ex parte una et præfatum Cardinalem super præmissis, et eorum occasione ex altera materia contradictionis, appellationeque interposita, et habito inde processu, Romana Curia autho-

ritate Apostolica videlicet felicis recordationis Domini Urbani Papæ quinti per diffinitivam sententiam de facto ordinatum fuerit ibidem pronunciaverit, decreverit et declaraverit solos Monachos prædictæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, secularibus exclusis, debere in dicto Collegio Aula nuncupato perpetuo remanere, nec non dictos Monachum Custodem ac alios Monachos Scholares sic de facto ut præmittitur a dicto Collegio ac bonis inibi existentibus in quorum possessione fuerant per amotionem hujusmodi et occupationem dictorum secularium Custodis et Scolariū secularium spoliatos et exclusos ad Collegium illud, nec non ad omnia bona supradicta, et omnia alia bona mobilia et immobilia dicti Collegii per eosdem secularem Custodem et Scholares seculares post amotionem prædictam occupata restituendos et reintegrandos fore, ac jam Dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et Conventus Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. antedictæ virtute dictorum ordinationis, procurationis, decreti et declarationis auctoritate Apostolica factorum uti præmittitur, quendam, ut asseritur, Commonachum suum ejusdem Ecclesiæ Christi Custodem dicti Collegii Aulæ nuncupati, ac certos alios Commonachos suos dictæ Ecclesiæ Christi scholares in eodem Collegio ordinaverint et constituerint, amotis dictis secularibus ab eodem penitus et exclusis, *contra formam licentiæ nostræ supradictæ*. Nos quanquam dicta advocatio Ecclesiæ de Pageham per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum una cum aliquibus prædiis seu tenementis in dotationem, foundationem seu alias in augmentationem Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis, seu Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. antedictæ data, concessa seu assignata extiterat, volentes nihilominus ob devotionem sinceram quam ad dictam Ecclesiam Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. et beatum Thomam Martyrem quondam ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopum, cujus corpus gloriose cathalogo sanctorum ascriptum quiescit honorabiliter in eadem, securitati tam dictorum Prioris et Conventus quam Commonachorum suorum, quos ipsi Prior et Conventus Custodem dicti Collegii et Scholares in eodem jam, ut præmittitur, ordinarunt, et in futurum ordinaverint, provide de gratia nostra speciali

et pro ducentis marcis quos dicti Prior et Conventus nobis solverunt in hanaperio nostro perdonavimus omnes transgressionem factas nec non foris facturam si qua dictæ Aulæ cum pertinentiis et advocationis prædictæ virtute statuti de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis editi vel alias nobis intensa fuerit in hac parte, dictamque sententiam, ordinationem, pronuntiationem, decretum et declarationem auctoritate Apostolica factam, ut prædictum est, et executionem eorundem pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus, volentes et concedentes pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, quod prædicti Custos et cæteri Scholares Regulares dicti Collegii Aulæ Cant. nuncupati Monachi dictæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. et eorum successores per prædictos Priorem et Conventum constituti, et per eosdem Priorem et Conventum et eorum successores constituendi, seu alias loco amovendorum substituendi, actibus scholasticis juxta ordinationem ipsorum Prioris et Conventus et successorum suorum religiose insistentes Aulam prædictam, tenementaque in ipsa contenta cum pertinentiis, nec non Ecclesiam prædictam, et advocationem ejusdem in usus proprios ipsorum Custodis et scholarium Regularium teneant videlicet dictam Aulam, et prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis, quæ de nobis in burgagium tenentur, ut dicitur, de nobis et hæredibus nostris, ac aliis Capitalibus Dominis feodi per servitia inde debita et consueta, et dictas Ecclesiam et advocationem de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam ad orandum specialiter pro salute animæ nostræ et pro animabus progenitorum nostrorum ac hæredum nostrorum in perpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostro vel hæredum nostrorum, Justitiæ Estretorum viæ aut aliorum ballivorum, seu ministrorum nostrorum vel hæredum nostrorum quorumcunque statuto vel forisfactura prædictis aut dictis, dotationem, concessionem, seu assignationem advocationis prædictæ per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum in dotationem, fundationem, vel alias in augmentationem Archiepiscopatus seu Ecclesiæ Christi præ-

dictorum, seu dictam foundationem per præfatum Simonem de Islep quondam Archiepiscopum tam pro studentibus sive scholaribus Regularibus quam Secularibus factæ, ut præmittitur, seu aliquo alio præmissorum non obstantibus. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm. octavo die Aprilis Anno Regni nostri Angliæ quadragesimo sexto, Regni vero nostri Franciæ tricesimo tertio.

A. D. 1372.

No. 9.

Literæ Fraternitatis Capituli concessæ Domine Cristine Collett, London. a Priore et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis.

E. Registro
Eccles.
Christi Can-
tuar. fol. 92.

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes litere nostre pervenerint, Thomas permissione divina prior Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis et ejusdem loci Capitulum, salutem in omnium Salvatore; Cum omnium Christi fidelium sancta desideria sint studiis et officiis nostris pro ea quæ in nobis est facultate nutrienda, eorum tamen devotis supplicationibus precipue favere debemus, quibus amicitie vel familiaritatis seu cujuslibet alterius necessitudinis vinculo conjuncti sumus: Quoniam igitur dilecta nobis in Christo Domina Christina Collett vidua pia consideratione animadvertens sacrificia Missarum et alia vite exercitia ad delenda peccata virtutesque augendas non modo hiis qui faciunt ea, verumetiam illis pro quibus et ad quorum commodum referuntur proficere, jampridem a nobis instanter postulavit ut eam ad nostrorum omnium suffragiorum communionem gratanter reciperemus, Nos illius in hac parte devotioni ac sedulis precibus inclinati, predictam Dominam Christinam Collett ad plenissimum nostre fraternitatis beneficium duximus admittendam, eamque per presentes nostras literas patentes admittimus, participemque facimus deinceps, Omnium Missarum, Orationum, Vigiliarum, Eleemo-

synarum, Jejuniarum ac ceterorum pietatis operumque, cooperante Dei gratia, per nos aut successores nostros Cantuariensis ecclesie commonachos fient in perpetuum, tam in vita quam in morte. Ceterum vero cum extrema dies ipsius nobis intimata fuerit, nomen suum pro memoria ipsius anniversarie recolenda in nostro Capitulari registro inseri faciemus. Ac preterea ad omnes Religiosorum Cetus ubilibet in regno Anglie constitutos eam destinare curabimus, ut eorum per merita ac devota precum suffragia valeat quam celerius scandere ad Celestia. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum commune duximus apponendum. Dat. in domo nostra Capitulari vicesimo primo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo.

No. 10.

Ibid.

Bulla Papalis pro Dispensatione cum Statuto Universitatis Oxon. &c.

GREGORIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Apostolicæ servitutis nobis injunctæ desuper officium mentem nostram incitat et inducit, ut circa ea quæ statui prospero personarum sub religionis habitu Domino famulantium, ac litterarum studio Theologicæ facultatis insistentium oportuna fore conspiciamus, operosis studiis intendamus. Oblata siquidem nobis pro parte dilectorum filiorum Custodis ac scholarium Monachorum collegii Domus Aulæ Cantuariensis nuncupatæ studii Oxon. ordinis sancti Benedicti Lincoln. Dioceseos Petitionis series continebat, quod in ipso studio quoddam Statutum existit, quo cavetur expresse, ut nullus ibidem ad honorem Magisterii in Theologia assumatur, nisi prius rexerit in artium facultate et quod etiam de antiqua et approbata consuetudine hactenus pacifice observata in eodem studio nullus religiosus, cujuscunque ordinis existat, ad regendum

admittatur in eadem universitate in artium facultate prædicta, propterea quod ipsi Custos et Scholares, quamvis sint in primitivis scientiis sufficienter instructi, ac alias ad hoc sufficientes et idonei ad hujusmodi Magisterii honorem in eadem Theologia recipiendum, minime admittuntur ibidem. Quare pro parte ipsorum Custodis et Collegii nobis existit humiliter supplicatum, ut providere ipsis super hoc de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur volentes eosdem Custodem et Collegium favore prosequi, gracie hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, volumus ac eisdem Custodi et Collegio Apostolica auctoritate concedimus, quod Custos et Scholares dicti Collegii qui sunt et erunt pro tempore, quamvis non rexerint in hujusmodi artium facultate, dummodo alias in primitivis scientiis sufficienter fuerint instructi, ac cursus suos fecerint in Theologica facultate, et per diligentem examinationem, juxta morem ipsius studii, sufficientes et idonei reperti extiterint ad Magisterium recipiendum in eadem, ad hujusmodi Magisterii honorem et docendi licentiam in ipsa Theologica facultate in studio supradicto; servatis tamen Constitutionibus Viennensis Consilii ac felicis recordationis Benedicti Papæ XII prædecessoris nostri, et aliis solemnitatibus in talibus consuetis, sublato cujuslibet difficultatis obstaculo, libere admittantur, non obstante statuto et consuetudine hujusmodi, etiamsi juramento, confirmatione Apostolica vel quacunque alia firmitate roborata existat, quæ alias in suo volumus robore permanere. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Avinioni iv Non. Decembris Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

No. 11.

Rymeri Fœ-
dera, tom.
vii. p. 41.
An. 48.
Edw. III.
A. D. 1374.

Pro Johanne de Wiclif et aliis de potestatibus ad tractandum cum Nunciis Papæ.

REX Universis ad quorum notitiam præsentēs literæ pervenerint, salutem.

Sciatis quod nos de fidelitate et circumspectione venerabilis Patris Johannis Episcopi Bangoriensis,

Ac fidelium nostrorum

Magistri Johannis de Wiclif sacrae Theologiæ Prof.

Magistri Johannis Guteri Decani Segobiensis,

Magistri Simonis de Multon Legum Doctoris,

Willelmi de Burton Militis,

Roberti Bealknap, et

Johannis de Kenyngton,

plenam fiduciam reportantes, ipsos ad partes transmarinas Ambassadors, Nuncios et Procuratores nostros speciales destinamus;

Dantes eisdem Ambassatoribus, Nunciis et Procuratoribus, sex vel quinque eorum (quorum præfatum Episcopum unum esse volumus) auctoritatem, et potestatem, ac mandatum speciale tractandi et benigne ac caritative consulendi cum Nunciis et Ambassatoribus Domini summi Pontificis, super certis negotiis, pro quibus præfatos Episcopum et Willelmum, ac fratrem Ughtredum Monachum Dunolmensensem, et Magistrum Johannem de Shepeye ad sedem Apostolicam nuper miseramus;

Et Relationem plenariam super hiis quæ inter eos tractata et consulta fuerint nobis et concilio nostro faciendi:

Ut ea quæ honorem sanctæ Ecclesiæ et Conservationem Jurium Coronæ nostræ, et Regni nostri Angliæ, concernere poterunt in ea parte intuitu Dei et sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, feliciter expediantur, et debitum capiant complementum.

In cujus, &c.

Dat. apud London. vicesimo sexto die Julii.

No. 12.

*Bulla Gregorii XI. missa Oxonii studio.*Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Ang. p. 201.

GREGORIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Cancellario et Universitati studii Oxoniensis, Lincoln. dioc. salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Mirari cogimur et dolere, quod vos propter gratias et privilegia vestra, studio Oxoniensi ab Apostolica sede concessa, et propter scientiam scripturarum, in quarum pelago foelici remigio (dante Domino) navigatis, tanquam pugiles et propugnatores orthodoxæ fidei (sine qua salus animarum non provenit) esse deberetis, lollium inter purum triticum campi gloriosi studii vestri prædicti per quandam desidiam et ignaviam permittitis pullulare, et quod est perniciosius etiam adolere, nec circa extirpationem hujus lollii (sicut nuper apud nos insonuit) curam aliquam adhibetis, non sine clari nominis obfuscatione, et animarum vestrarum periculo, et contemptu Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et memoratæ fidei detrimento. Et quod nos torquet acerbius, prius de incremento lollii prædicti sentitur in Roma quam in Anglia, ubi tamen extirpationis remedium apponeretur. Multorum siquidem fide dignorum insinuatione admodum dolentium nostris est auribus intimatum, Johannem Wycklef Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Littleworth Lincolnensis dioc. sacræ paginæ professorem, utinam non magistrum errorum, in illam detestabilem erupisse vecordiam, nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas et falsas, ac pravitate hæreseos sapientes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ, et etiam secularem policiam subvertere et enervare nituntur, quarumque aliquæ, licet quibusdam mutatis terminis, sentire videntur perversas opiniones et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Gandavo, quorumlibet per foelicis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. Prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, in regno Angliæ nempe glorioso potentia et copia facultatum, sed gloriosiore pietate fidei rutilante, sacræ paginæ claritate con-

sueto viros producere, divinarum scripturarum recta scientia illustratos, morum gravitate maturos, devotione conspicuos, et catholicæ fidei defensores, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, seu potius de virulento claustris sui pectore evomere non veretur, nonnullos Christi fideles earum respersione commaculans, et a fidei præfatæ recta semita in præcipitum perditionis abducens. Quare cum tam lethiferam pestem, cui si ejus non obstetur principiis et ipsa radicitus evellatur sero posset medicina parari quum per contagionem plurimos infecisset, nolimus prout nec velle debemus sub conniventia pertransire. Universitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub pœna privationis omnium gratiarum, indulgentiarum, et privilegiorum vobis ac studio vestro a dicta sede concessorum, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus conclusiones et propositiones in bonis operibus et fide male sentientes, licet eas proponentes sub quadam verborum sive terminorum curiosa implicatione nitantur defendere, de cætero non permittatis asseri vel proponi: Dictumque Johannem autoritate nostra capiatis, seu capi faciatis, et ipsum venerabilibus fratribus nostris Archiepiscopo Cantuar. et Episcopo Londoniensi, aut eorum alteri sub fida custodia transmittatis. Contradictores quoque de dicto studio vestræ Jurisdictioni subjectos, si qui forsitan (quod Deus avertat) essent hujusmodi erroribus maculati, si in illis pertinaciter perstiterint, ad similem captionem et missionem, aliasque prout ad vos spectat, firmiter et sollicite procedatis, perinde vestram suppleturi diligentiam, hactenus in præmissis remissam, nostramque et dictæ sedis, præter divinæ retributionis præmium et meritum, gratiam et benevolentiam adepturi. Dat. Romæ apud sanctam Mariam majorem XI. Calendas Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

No. 13.

Bulla Papalis missa Archiepiscopo Cantuar. et Episcopo Londoniensi ad monendum Regem et Magnates Angliæ, ne prædicto Johanni Wyclef faveant, vel adhæreant quovismodo.

Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Ang. p. 202.

GREGORIUS servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. Archiepiscopo et Episcopo Londoniensi salutem, &c. Super periculosis admodum erroribus quarundam detestabilium propositionum et conclusionum ad enervationem totius ecclesiastici status tendentium, scriptas in schedula inclusa præsentibus, quas Johannes Wyclef rector Ecclesiæ de Lutterworth Lincolniensis dioc. dictus Theologiæ Professor, asseritur tam impie quam temere suscitasse, plenius vobis scribimus, per alias nostras patentes literas, quas cum præsentibus destinamus. Volumus igitur et vestræ fraternitati mandamus quatenus clarissimum in Christo, Edwardum regem Angliæ illustrem, et dilectos filios nobiles viros natos dicti Regis, ac dilectam in Christo filiam nobilem mulierem Johannam principissam Aquitaniæ et Walliæ, et alios magnates de Anglia et consiliarios regis per vos et alios magistros et peritos in sacra pagina, non maculatos hujuscemodi erroribus, sed in fide sinceros et fervidos studeatis facere, plenarie informari, ac eis ostendi, quanta verecundia devoto regno Angliæ oriatur exinde, et quod non solum sunt ipsæ conclusiones erroneæ in fide, sed si bene advertantur, innuunt omnem destruere Politiam. Et requiratis eos strictissime, quod extirpationem tantorum errorum, pro reverentia Dei et Apostolicæ sedis et nostra, ipsorumque merito apud Deum et honorem seculo, tanquam Catholici principes et pugiles dictæ fidei, omni qua poterunt efficacia tribuant auxilium et favorem. Dat. Romæ apud sanctam Mariam majorem xi. Cal. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

Lutter-
worth.

No. 14.

Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Ang. p. 202.

Bulla Papalis ad incarcerandum Johannem Wyckliff et eum citandum ad personaliter comparendum coram Papa.

VENERABILIBUS fratribus Archiepiscopo Cantuar. et Episcopo Londoniensi salutem, &c. Nuper per nos non sine gravi cordis turbatione, et plurium fide dignorum relatione, percepto quod Johannes Wicklef rector Ecclesiæ de Littleworth Lincolniensis dioc. sacræ paginæ professor, utinam non magister errorum, in tam detestabilem vesaniam temere prorupit, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, quarumque aliquæ (quibusdam mutatis terminis) imitari videbantur perversas opiniones, et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua, et Johannis de Gandavo, quorumlibet per felicitis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non verebatur in regno Angliæ asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, illis nonnullos Christi fideles maligne inficiens, ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare. Nos attendentes quod tam perniciosum malum quod in plurimos serpere poterat, eorum animas læthali contagione necando, non debebamus, prout nec debemus sub dissimulatione transire, vobis per alias literas nostras commisimus et mandavimus, ut vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum asser-tione, quarum copiam sub bulla nostra misimus interclusam, vos secrete informantes, si ita esse inveniretis, præfatum Johannem autoritate nostra capi et carceribus mancipari faceretur, eumque sub bona custodia teneretur in vinculis, donec a nobis super hac reciperetur aliud in mandatis, prout in dictis literis plenius continetur. Considerantes utique quod præfatus Johannes hujusmodi captionem et carcerationem forte præsentiens, posset (quod absit)

perfugere, seu latitationis præsidio dictum nostrum mandatum in gravissimum fidei detrimentum eludere: Nos (ne tam damnabiles propositiones et conclusiones indiscussæ, et earum temerarius assertor impunitus remaneret in detrimentum gravissimum fidei prælibatæ) fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos vel alter vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios, præfatum Johannem, si per vos capi et incarcerari non possit, per edictum publicum proponendum in studio Oxoniæ Lincolnensis diœc. et aliis locis publicis, de quibus fit verisimilis conjectura, quod ad dicti Johannis notitiam pervenire valeat, et de quibus vos expedire videatur, ex parte nostra peremptorie monere et citare curetis, quod infra trium mensium spacium a die citationis hujusmodi in antea computandum, ubicunque tunc nos esse contigerit, comparere ac personaliter coram nobis super propositionibus et conclusionibus hujuscemodi responsurus, ac auditurus et facturus quicquid super eis duxerimus ordinandum, et ordo dictaverit rationis, prædicendo in hujusmodi citationis edicto, quod sive idem Johannes in hujusmodi termino comparuerit, sive non comparuerit, nos super præmissis, et contra eum usque ad debitam condemnationem ipsius inclusive procedemus, prout ejus demerita exigent, ac nobis secundum Deum et conservationem fidei videbitur expedire. Volumus autem et præsentium tenore statuimus, quod prædicta citatio sic facta, provide præfatum Johannem arctet, ac si sibi personaliter insinuata et intimata fuisset, constitutione quacunque contraria non obstante. Diem vero citationis, et formam, et quicquid feceritis in prædictis, nobis per vestras literas sigillis munitas harum seriem continentes, fideliter et quam citius poteritis, intimare curetis. Dat. Romæ apud sanctam Mariam majorem XI. Calendarum Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

No. 15.

Walsing-
ham, Hist.
Ang. p. 203.

Bulla Papalis Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, &c. ad carcerandum Johannem Wycklef, et recipiendam ejus Confessionem.

VENERABILIBUS fratribus Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Episcopo Londoniensi salutem, &c. Regnum Angliæ gloriosum nempe potentia et abundantia facultatum, sed gloriosius pietate fidei, et sacræ paginæ claritate coruscum, consuevit viros producere divinarum scripturarum recta scientia præditos, maturitate graves, devotione præclaros, et pugiles fidei orthodoxæ, et qui non solum proprios, sed alienos populos documentis instruebant verissimis, et in mandatorum Domini semitam dirigebant. Et sicut ex effectu contingentium temporis antiqui colligitur, dicti regni præsules in specula sollicitudinis positi, proprias excubias exercentes sollicite, non permittebant aliquod oriri erro-
neum, quod posset inficere oves suas, sed si oriretur zizania ex inimici hominis inspersione, illam protinus evellebant, crescebat assidue purum triticum in dominicum horreum inferendum. Sed (proh dolor) nunc apparet quod in ipso regno officio vigiles, negligentia vero desides, non circuunt civitatem, dum hostes ingrediuntur in eam, animarum thesaurum preciosissimum prædantur. Quorum latentes ingressus, et patentes aggressus prius sentiuntur in Roma intercapedine longa remota, quam eis in Anglia resistatur. Sane plurium fide dignorum significatione admodum dolenter audivimus, quod Johannes Wycklef rector Ecclesiæ de Littleworth Lincolniensis dioc. sacræ paginæ Professor, utinam non magister errorum, in illam detestabilem vesaniam dicitur temere prorupisse, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas et falsas in fide male sonantes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare conantur, quarumque aliquæ, licet aliquibus quibusdam mutatis terminis, sentire videntur perversas opiniones et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilli de Padua,

et Johannis de Ganduno, quorumlibet per fœlicis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, non veretur in præfato regno asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare, nonnullos Christi fideles eis maligne inficiens, ac a fide catholica (sine qua non est salus) faciens deviare, de quibus sic subortis, et non extirpatis, seu saltem eis nulla facta resistentia, quam sciamus, sed transactis seu tolleratis conniventibus oculis tam negligenter transeundo, non immerito deberetis rubore perfundi, verecundari, et in propriis conscientiis remorderi. Quare cum tam perniciosum malum, quod non præcisum seu radicitus extirpatum serpere posset in plurimos in animabus eorum (quod absit) læthali contagione necandos, nolumus (sicut nec debemus) sub dissimulatione transire. Fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus receptis præsentibus, vos vel alter vestrum de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copiam vobis mittimus sub Bulla nostra inclusam, vos secrete informantes, si inveneritis ita esse, præfatum Johannem faciatis autoritate nostra capi, et carceribus mancipari, ejusque confessionem super eisdem propositionibus seu conclusionibus recipere studeatis, ac ipsam confessionem, et quæcunque dictus Johannes dixerit seu scripserit, super earundem propositionum et conclusionum inductione ac probatione, et quicquid feceritis in præmissis sub vestris sigillis clausa, et nemini revelata nobis per fidelem nuncium transmissuri, eundemque Johannem sub fideli custodia teneatis in vinculis, donec a nobis super hoc aliud receperitis in mandatis. Contradictores, &c. Invocato, &c. Non obstantibus fœlicis recordationis Bonifacii Papæ VIII. Prædecessoris nostri constitutionibus, in quibus cavetur ne aliquis extra suam civitatem vel diœc. nisi in certis exceptis casibus, et in illis ultra unam dietam a fine suæ diœc. ad judicium evocetur, seu ne judices a sede apostolica deputati aliquos ultra unam dietam a fine suæ diœc. evocare præsumant, et de duabus dietis in consilio generali, ac expansionis et aliis privilegiis, constitutionibus, et literis apostolicis Prædicatorum, Minorum, et Hære-

mitarum sancti Augustini, et sanctæ Mariæ de monte Carmeli, et aliis quibuscunque mendicantium, vel aliis ordinibus et locis, aut specialibus personis seu capitulis et conventibus ipsorum generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcunque tenorum existant, necnon statutis et consuetudinibus eorundem ordinum, et locorum contrariis, per quæ effectus præsentium impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri etiamsi de eis eorumque totis tenoribus ac de verbo ad verbum plena et expressa mentio in nostris literis sit habenda, seu si Johanni prædicto vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a dicta sede sit indultum, quod personaliter capi, aut quod jus dici, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possint per literas Apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Dat. Romæ apud S. Mariam majorem XI. Cal. Junii, anno 27.

No. 16.

Walsingh.
Hist. Angl.
p. 204.

Epistola Papæ ad Regem Edwardum III. ad exhibendum sui Favoris et Auxilii Patrocinium Archiepiscopo Cant. et Episcopo Londinensi in Prosecutione Johannis Wicliffe.

CHARISSIMO in Christo Filio Edwardo Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem, &c. Regnum Angliæ quod Altissimus tuæ supposuit potestati, gloriosum nempe potentia et abundantia facultatum, sed gloriosius pietate fidei, et sacræ paginæ claritate coruscum, consuevit viros producere divinarum scripturarum recta scientia præditos, maturitate graves, devotione ferventes, et catholicæ fidei defensores, qui non solum proprios, sed alienos populos præceptis salutaribus instruebant, dirigebantque in divinorum semitam mandatorum. Sed nuper cum ingenti cordis amaritudine plurimorum fide dignorum significatione percepimus, Johannem de Wicklef rectorem Ecclesiæ de Littleworth

Lincoln. diœcesis, sacræ paginæ professorem, utinam non magistrum errorum, in illam nefandam et abhominabilem prorupisse dementiam, quod nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones plenas erroribus, et manifestam hæresim continentes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, quarumque aliquæ, licet quibusdam mutatis terminis, sentire videntur perversas opiniones, et doctrinam indoctam damnatæ memoriæ Marsilii de Padua et Johannis de Ganduno, quorumlibet per fœlicis recordationis Johannem Papam XXII. prædecessorem nostrum reprobatus extitit et damnatus, in dicto regno dogmatizare et publice prædicare, seu potius de virulento clauastro sui pectoris evomere non veretur, nonnullos Christi fideles earum respersione commaculans, et a præfatæ fidei recta semita in præcipitium perditionis abducens. Nos itaque tantum malum quod non præscisum seu radicitus extirpatum serpere posset in plurimos, in animabus eorum (quod absit) læthali contagione necandos, nolentes prout nec velle sine nostræ morsu conscientiæ possumus, conniventibus oculis, pertransire, venerabilibus fratribus nostris Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Episcopo Londinensi per litteras nostras commisimus et mandavimus, ut ipsi vel alter eorum, receptis per eos dictis nostris literis, de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copiam eis sub bulla nostra misimus interclusam, se informantes (si invenirent ita esse) facerent præfatum Johannem autoritate nostra capi et carceribus mancipari, ejus confessionem super eisdem propositionibus seu conclusionibus recipere studerent, ac ipsam confessionem et quæcunque dictus Johannes dixerit vel scripserit super earundem propositionum et conclusionum inductione et probatione, nobis per fidum nuncium transmittere non postponant. Cum itaque dicti Archiepiscopus et Episcopus in prosecutione hujus negotii noscantur favore et auxilio tuæ Celsitudinis indigere, Majestatem tuam quam et tui Progenitores incliti catholicæ fidei, cujus in hac parte res agitur, semper consueverunt esse præcipui zelatores, requirimus et deprecamur attente quatenus ob reverentiam Dei,

dictæ fidei, et Apostolicæ sedis, et nostrum intuitum digneris præfatis Archiepiscopo et Episcopo, et aliis qui hujusmodi negotium persequentur, in ipsa prosecutione tui Favoris et Auxilii Patrocinium exhibere provide, præter humanæ laudis præconium, divinæ retributionis præmium, nostram et dictæ sedis adepturus benevolentiam ampliorem. Data Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam majorem xi. Cal. Junii, anno 7.

No. 17.

Spelman,
vol.ii.p.625.

Mandatum Auctoritate Apostolica pro Informatione Magistri Johannis Wycliff; et ad citandum eum.

SIMON permissione divina, &c. et Willielmus eadem permissione Londonensis Episcopus delegati a sede Apostolica cum illa clausula, *quatenus vos duo, aut unus vestrum, ad infra scripta specialiter deputati*, Dilecto pariter venerabilique Viro Cancellario Universitatis Oxoniæ, Lincolnensis Diocesis ejusve locum tenenti, salutem in Domino et mandatis nostris ymo verius Apostolicis firmiter obedire. Literas sanctissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini nostri Domini Gregorii divina Providentia Papæ x^{mi} super eo, quod Johannes Wycliff sacræ Paginæ Professor, Rectorque de Litterworth dictæ Lincolnensis Diocesis, in detestabilem vesaniam temere prorumpens, nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones erroneas ac falsas, et male in fide sonantes, quæ statum totius Ecclesiæ subvertere et enervare nituntur, non verebatur asserere, dogmatizare, et publice prædicare; illis nonnullos Christi fideles maligne inficiens, ac a fide Catholica, sine qua non est salus, faciens deviare, ut in dictis literis Apostolicis plenius est expressum; nos noveritis cum ea qua decuit reverentia recepisse. Volentes igitur mandatis Apostolicis parere pro viribus ut tenemur, vobis in virtute obedientiæ qua dictæ sedi tenemini committimus et mandamus firmiter injungentes, qua-

tinus receptis per vos præsentibus, evocatis ad hoc etiam, per vos sacræ Paginæ professoribus expertis, rectius et sanctius in fide Catholica sentientibus, verbis sophisticalibus terminorum curiosa implicatione penitus prætermis- sis, de dictarum propositionum et conclusionum assertione, quarum copia inferius inseritur, vos secrete informantibus, de omni eo quod in præmissis inveniretis et sentieritis literis vestris clausis et sigillo vestro sigillatis, clare, distincte et aperte in omnibus et per omnia nos reddatis ut convenit certiores. Citetis insuper seu citari faciatis peremptorie dictum Johannem, quod tricesimo die juridico post citationem sibi factam in Ecclesia sancti Pauli London. compereat personaliter coram nobis, seu aliis subdelegatis nostris sive Commissariis in hac parte, super conclusionibus et propositionibus hujusmodi responsurus ac auditurus, ulterius quoque facturum quicquid auctoritate Apostolica fieri debeat in hac parte, et ordo dictaverit rationis; prædicentes eidem, quod sive comperuerit in termino prædicto sive non, ulterius contra eum procedetur, prout literæ Apostolicæ in se exigunt et requirunt. Vobis insuper injungimus auctoritate prædicta, quatinus literas Apostolicas in præsentiarum per nos vobis transmissas, sub pœnis in eisdem literis plenius expressatis, in omnibus et per omnia diligenter et fideliter exequamini, juxta vim, formam, et effectum earundem, certificantes nos aut dictos Commissarios nostros seu subdelegatos celerius quo fieri poterit, quid feceritis in præmissis per literas vestras patentes, harum et facti vestri seriem plenius continentes. Datæ apud Otteforde xv kalendarum Januarii anno Domini 1377, et Translationis nostri Simonis Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi supradicti anno tertio. Decemb. 18.

No. 18.

Conclusiones Magistri Joannis Wycliff contentæ in Scheda inclusa Literis Papalibus dat. Junii 11, 1377.

1. **TOTUM** genus ^a *hominum concurrentium* citra Christum non habet potestatem ^b simpliciter ordinandi, ut Petrus, et omne genus suum dominetur politice imperpetuum super mundum.

2. Deus non potest dare homini pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum civile dominium.

3. Cartæ humanitus adinventæ de ^c hæreditate civili olim perpetua sunt impossibiles.

4. Quilibet existens in gratia ^d gratificante finaliter nedum habet jus, sed in re habet omnia Dei.

5. Homo potest solum ministratorie dare tam naturali ^e filio quam imitationis in schola Christi, tam temporale dominium quam æternum.

Deest apud
Walsingh.

6. Si Deus *est*, Domini temporales possunt legitime ac meritorie auferre bona fortunæ ab Ecclesia delinquente.

7. ^f Nunquid Ecclesia est in tali statu vel non, non est meum discutere, sed dominorum temporalium examinare, et posito casu confidenter agere, et in pœna damnationis æternæ *ejus* temporalia auferre.

8. Scimus quod non est possibile quod Vicarius Christi pure ex Bullis suis, vel ex illis cum ^g voluntate et consensu suo ^h et sui Collegii quenquam habilitet vel inhabilitet.

9. Non est possibile hominem excommunicari nisi ⁱ prius et principaliter excommunicaretur a seipso.

10. ^k Nemo ad sui deteriorationem excommunicatur suspenditur, vel aliis censuris cruciatur, nisi in causa Dei.

11. Maledictio vel excommunicatio, non ligat simpliciter, nisi quantum fertur in adversarium legis Christi.

^a humanum.

^b simplicem.

^c hæreditate perpetua.

^d gratum faciente jus ad rem, sed pro suo tempore jus in re super.

^e filio imitationis temporale dominium et æternum implicitum.

^f Hic totus Articulus deest.

^g volitione.

^h aut.

ⁱ primo.

^k Nemo debet nisi in causa Dei excommunicare, suspendere, interdicere, vel secundum quamcunque censuram ecclesiasticam vindicando procedere.

12. Non est ^lexemplificata potestas a Christo ^mvel suis Discipulis excommunicandi subditos, præcipue propter negationem temporalium, sed e contra.

13. Discipuli Christi non habent potestatem ⁿcoacte exigere temporalia per censuras.

14. Non est possibile de potentia Dei absoluta, quod si Papa vel ^oalius prætendat se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso solvit vel ligat.

15. Credere debemus quod solum tunc solvit vel ligat, ^pquando se conformat legi Christi.

16. Hoc debet catholice credi, ^qquilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus habet potestatem sufficienter Sacramenta quælibet conferendi, et per consequens quemlibet contritum a peccato quolibet absolvendi.

17. ^rLicet Regibus auferre temporalia a viris Ecclesiasticis ipsis abutentibus habitualiter.

18. ^sSive Domini temporales, sive sancti Papæ, sive sancti, sive caput Ecclesiæ, qui est Christus, dotaverint Ecclesiam bonis fortunæ vel gratiæ, et excommunicaverint ejus temporalia auferentes, licet tamen propter conditionem implicitam delicto proportionabili eam temporalibus spoliare.

19. ^tEcclesiasticus ymo et Romanus Pontifex potest legitime a subditis et laicis corripì, et etiam accusari.

Istæ fuerunt propositiones vel potius deliramenta sæpe dicti Johannis, quæ ad aures domini apostolici pervenere.
Walsingham.

^l exemplata. ^m deest. ⁿ ad, coactione civili, exigendum.

^o alius Christianus. ^p simpliciter vicarius Christi conformiter—

^q quod quilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus secundum legem gratiæ habet potestatem secundum quam potest sacramenta ministrare, et per consequens sibi confessum de quocunque peccato contritum absolvere.

^r Licet Regibus in casibus limitatis a Jure—

^s Sive Domini temporales, sive quicunque alii dotaverint Ecclesiam temporalibus, licet eis in casu auferre temporalia medicinaliter ad cavenda peccata, non obstante excommunicatione, vel alia censura ecclesiastica; cum non nisi sub conditione implicita sunt donata.

^t Ecclesiasticus etiam Romanus Pontifex potest legitime a subditis corripì ad utilitatem Ecclesiæ, et tam a clericis quam a laycis accusari.

No. 19.

Conclusiones J. Wiclefi de Sacramento Altaris.

MS. in
Hyp. Bodl.
163.

1. **HOSTIA** consecrata quam videmus in Altari nec est Christus nec aliqua sui pars, sed efficax ejus signum.

2. Nullus viator sufficit oculo corporali, sed fide Christum videre in hostia consecrata.

3. Olim fuit fides Ecclesie romane in professione Berengarii quod panis et vinum que remanent post benedictionem sunt hostia consecrata.

4. Eucharistia habet virtute verborum sacramentalium tam corpus quam sanguinem Christi vere et realiter ad quemlibet ejus punctum.

^a Sic MS.

5. Transsubstantiatio, ydemptificatio et impanatio quibus utuntur baptiste signorum in materia de eucharistia non sunt fundabiles in Scriptura.

6. Repugnat Sanctorum sententiis asserere quod sit accidens sine subjecto in hostia veritatis.

7. Sacramentum Eucharistie est in natura sua panis aut vinum, habens virtute verborum sacramentalium verum corpus et sanguinem Christi ad quemlibet ejus punctum.

8. Sacramentum Eucharistie est in figura corpus Christi et sanguis, in que transubstanciatur panis aut vinum cujus remanet post consecrationem aliquitas licet quoad considerationem fidelium sit sopita.

9. Quod accidens sit sine subjecto non est fundabile, sed si sic Deus adnichilatur et perit quilibet articulus fidei Christiane.

10. Quaecunque persona vel secta est nimis heretica que pertinaciter defenderit quod Sacramentum Altaris est panis per se existens in natura infinitum abjectior et imperfectior pane equino.

11. Quicumque pertinaciter defendet quod dictum Sacramentum sit accidens, qualitas, quantitas aut earum aggregatio incidit in heresim supradictam.

12. Panis triticeus in quo solum licet conficere, est in

natura infinitum perfectior pane fabino vel ratonis, quorum uterque in natura est perfectior accidente.

Et in uno die in publica sua determinacione has tres subsequentes posuit conclusiones, ex quibus secuntur ille tres prime condemnate per Willielmum archiepiscopum cum suo clero catholice fidei defensores de quibus Novem. dampnatis dicetur multum inferius.

1. Sacramentum Eukaristie est in natura sua corpus panis aut vini, habens virtute verborum sacramentalium verum corpus Christi ad quemlibet ejus punctum.

2. Sacramentum Eukaristie est in figura corpus Christi et sanguis in que transubstantiatur panis aut vinum cujus remanet post consecracionem aliquitas licet in consideratione fidelium sit sopita.

3. Quod accidens sit sine subjecto non est fundabile, sed si sic, Deus adnichilatur et perit quilibet articulus fidei Christiane.

No. 20.

Diffinitio facta per Cancellarium et Doctores Universitatis Oxonii, de Sacramento Altaris contra Opiniones Wycliffianas: alias Sententia Willielmi Cancellarii Oxon. contra M. J. Wycliff residentem in Cathedra.

Spelman,
vol. ii. p.
627. Ex MS.
Hyperoo
Bodl. 163.

WILLIELMUS de ^aBarton Cancellarius Universitatis ^aBerton. Oxon. Omnibus dicte Universitatis filiis ad quos presens nostrum mandatum pervenerit, salutem, et mandatis nostris firmiter obedire. Ad nostrum non sine grandi displicentia pervenit auditum, quod cum ^bomnium heresium in- ^bomnes. ventores, defensores, seu fautores, cum eorum ^cperniciis ^cperniciosis. dogmatibus sint per sacros Canones sententia majoris Excommunicationis damnabiliter involuti, et sic a cunctis Catholicis rationabiliter evitandi; Nonnulli tamen maligni spiritus repleti concilio in insaniam mentis producti, moli-

^d similiter. entes tunicam Domini ^d scilicet Sancte Ecclesie scindere unitatem, quasdam hereses olim ab Ecclesia solenniter condemnatas: Hiis diebus, proh dolor! innovant, et tam in ista Universitate ista quam extra publice dogmatizant; duo inter alia sua documenta pestifera asserentes, primo, in Sacramento Altaris substantiam panis materialis et vini, quæ prius fuerunt ante consecrationem, post consecrationem realiter remanere. Secundo, quod execrabilius est auditu, in illo venerabili Sacramento non esse Corpus Christi et sanguinem essentialiter, nec substantialiter, nec etiam corporaliter, sed figurative, seu tropice, sic quod

^e presentia. Christus non est ibi veraciter in sua propria ^e persona corporali. Ex quibus documentis fides catholica periclitatur, devocio populi minoratur, et hec Universitas mater nostra non mediocriter diffamatur. Nos igitur advertentes quod

^f partus. assertiones hujusmodi ^f per ^f tempus se deteriores haberent si diucius in hac Universitate sic conniventibus oculis tolerentur, convocavimus plures sacræ Theologiæ Doctores et Juris Canonici Professores quos periciores credidimus, et premissis assertionibus in eorum presentia patenter expositis ac diligenter discussis, tandem finaliter est comper-

^g iudicio. tum, et eorum ^g iudiciis declaratum ipsas esse ^h errores
^h erroneas. atque determinationibus Ecclesiæ repugnantes, contradic-
toriasque earundem esse veritates Catholicas, et ex dictis
sanctorum, et determinationibus Ecclesie manifeste se-
quentes; videlicet quod per verba Sacramentalia a sacer-
dote rite prolata panis et Vinum in Altari in verum corpus
Christi et sanguinem transubstantiantur seu substantialiter
convertuntur, sic quod post consecrationem non remanent
in illo venerabili Sacramento, Panis materialis et Vinum

ⁱ secundum. que prius secundum suas substantias seu naturas, sed ⁱ so-
lum species eorundem, sub quibus speciebus verum corpus
Christi et sanguis realiter continentur, non solum figura-
tive seu tropice, sed essentialiter, substantialiter ac corpo-
raliter, sic quod Christus est ibi veraciter in sua propria
presencia corporali, Hoc credendum, hoc docendum, hoc
contra omnes contradicentes viriliter defendendum. Hor-
tamur igitur in Domino, et auctoritate nostra monemus

primo, secundo et tertio, ac districtius inhibemus, pro prima monicione assignando unum diem; pro secunda alium diem; et pro tertia monicione Canonica ac peremptoria unum alium diem, ne quis de cetero cujuscunque gradus, status aut conditionis existat, premissas duas assertiones erroneas aut earum alteram, in scholis ^l vel extra ^l aut. scholas in hac Universitate publice teneat, doceat ^m aut de- ^m seu. fendat sub pena incarcerationis, et suspencionis ab omni actu scolastico, ac eciam sub pena excommunicationis majoris quam in omnes et singulos in hac parte rebelles et nostris monicionibus non parentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monicione canonica assignatis, mora, culpa et offensa precedentibus, et id fieri merito exigentibus ferimus in his scriptis, quorum omnium absoluciones, et absolvendi potestatem, preterquam in mortis articulo, nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reservamus.

Insuper ut homines quamvis non propter timorem late sententie ⁿ propter defectum audiencie a talibus doctrinis ⁿ adde saltem. illicitis retrahantur, et eorum opiniones erronee sopiantur, eadem auctoritate qua prius monemus primo, secundo, ^o tertio, ac districtius inhibemus, ne quis de cetero ali- ^o add. et. quem publice docentem, tenentem, seu defendentem premissas duas asserciones erroneas aut earum alteram in scholis vel extra scholas in hac Universitate quovismodo audiat vel auscultet, sed statim sic docentem tanquam serpentem venenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et abscedat, sub pena excommunicationis majoris, et omnes et singulos contravenientes non immerito fulminande et sub penis alijs superius annotatis.

Nomina ⁿ Doctorum qui presenti decreto specialiter affuerunt, et eidem unanimiter consenserunt sunt hec. ^p insere autem.

Magister Johannes Lawndreyn sacre pagine professor et secularis.

Magister Henricus ^q Cronpe Abbas Monachus. ^q Gromp.

Magister Johannes Chessham de ordine predicatorum.

Magister Willielmus ^r Bruscombe de eodem ordine. ^r Brustumbe.

Magister Johannes Schypton de ordine Augustinorum.

Magister Johannes Tyssington de ordine Minorum.

Magister Johannes Loveye de ordine Carmelitarum.

^s Welles. Magister Johannes ^s Wellys Monachus de Ramesey.

Magister Johannes Wolverton de ordine predicatorum.

^t Rigge. Magister Robertus ^t Rugge S. pagine professor et secularis.

Magister Joannes Moubray Doctor in utroque Jure.

Magister Joannes Gascoyngne Doctor in Decretis.

^u ut est dictum. Convocatis igitur prefatis Doctoribus ^u in eorum domum et plena deliberatione habita de premissis, ex omnium nostrum unanimi concilio et assensu, presens mandatum emanare decrevimus. In quorum omnium singulorum testimonium, sigillum officii ^x fecimus hiis apponi.

^x ins. nostri. *Ista predicta condemnatio promulgata est publice in scolis Augustinentium ipso Magistro Joanne sedente in Cathedra et determinante contrarium, sed confusus est ista audita condempnacione. Sed tamen dixit quod nec Cancellarius nec aliquis de suis complicitibus poterat suam sententiam infringere, se in hoc ostendens hereticum pertinacem. Sed post ad sue heresis majorem manifestacionem et sue pertinacie ostentacionem, alias publice a condempnacione Cancellarii et Judicio predicto appellavit, non ad Papam, vel ad Episcopum, vel ad Ordinarium Ecclesiasticum: Sed hereticus adherens seculari potestati, in defensionem sui Erroris et Heresis appellavit ad Regem Ricardum, volens per hoc se protegere regali potestate, quod non puniretur, vel emendaretur Ecclesiastica potestate. Et post appellationem advenit nobilis dominus, dux egregius et miles strenuus, sapiensque Consiliarius, Dux Lancastrie, sacre Ecclesie filius fidelis, prohibens Magistro predicto Johanni quod de cetero non loqueretur de ista materia. Sed nec ipse contemperans suo ordinario Cancellario, nec tam strenuo Domino incepit Confessionem quandam facere, in qua continebatur omnis Error pristinus, sed secrecius sub velamine vario verborum, in qua dixit suum conceptum, et visus est suam sententiam probare. Sed velut hereticus pertinax refutavit omnes Doctores de secundo Millinario in materia de sacramento Altaris, et dixit, omnes illos errasse preter Berengarium*

cujus opinio damnatur de consecrat. dist. 2^a Ego Berengarius, et ipsum et suos complices; dixit palam Sathanam solutum et potestatem habere in Magistro sententiarum et in omnibus qui fidem Catholicam predicaverunt.

No. 21.

Confessio Magistri Johannis Wyccliff.

SEPE confessus sum et adhuc confiteor quod idem corpus Christi in numero quod fuit assumptum de Virgine, quod passum est in cruce, quod pro sancto triduo jacuit in sepulchro, quod tertia die resurrexit, quod post 40 dies ascendit in cœlum, et quod sedet perpetuo ad dextram Dei Patris; ipsum, inquam, idem corpus et eadem substantia est vere et realiter panis sacramentalis vel hostia consecrata quam fideles senciunt in manibus sacerdotis, cujus probacio est quia Christus qui mentiri non potest sic asserit. Non tamen audeo dicere quod corpus Christi sit essentialiter, substantialiter, corporaliter vel ydemptice ille panis sicut corpus Christi extensum est ille panis: Sed ipsum corpus non est extense vel dimensionaliter ille panis. Credimus enim quod triplex est modus essendi corpus Christi in hostia consecrata scilicet, virtualis, spiritualis, et sacramentalis. Virtualis quo benefacit per totum suum dominum, secundum bona nature vel gratie. Modus autem essendi spiritualis est quo corpus Christi est in Eucharistia et Sanctis per gratiam. Et tercius est modus essendi sacramentalis quo corpus Christi singulariter in hostia consecrata, et sicut secundus modus perexigit primum; ita tercius modus secundum perexigit quia impossibile est prescitum carentem fide secundum justiciam presentem conficere. Qui ergo credit sive conficiat sive non conficiat manducavit, ut dicit Beatus Augustinus super Joannem Omelia 25. Et iste modus essendi spiritualis est verior in anima. Est eciam verior et realior quam prior modus essendi, vel secundum membrum secundi modi es-

sendi in hostia consecrata, cum sit per se causa illius modi vel efficiens vel finalis, et per se causa est magis verius Ens suo causato. Modus autem essendi quo corpus Christi est in hostia est modus verus et realis, cum autorum numerus qui mentiri non potest dixit, hoc est corpus meum, et reliquit suis sacerdotibus virtutem similiter faciendi. Hoc autem totum ex fide scripturæ colligitur. Ideo Christus est specialiori modo in isto Sacramento quam in aliis. Cum sit simul veritas et figura, non est autem sic secundum alia sacramenta, patet iste miraculosus modus essendi sacramentalis. Cultores autem signorum nesciunt fundare quod in suo sacramento est realiter corpus Christi. Sed preter istos tres modos essendi sunt alii tres modi realiores et veriores quos corpus Christi appropriate habet in cœlo sc. modus essendi substantialiter, corporaliter et dimensionaliter. Et grosse concipientes non intelligunt alium modum essendi naturalis substantiæ præter illos. Illi autem sunt valde indispositi ad concipiendum archana Eucharistie, et subtilitatem scripturæ. Ideo dico illis quod duo modi priores in substantia corporali coincidunt, non quod esse substantialiter consequitur corpus Christi secundum rationem qua corpus Christi. Modus autem essendi dimensionaliter consequitur ad duos priores, sicut passio ad subjectum. Et quilibet istorum trium modorum erit realior et causa prior quam priores. Nullo alio istorum modorum trium est corpus Christi in Sacramento sed in cœlo: Quia tum feret corpus Christi septipedale in hostia. Sicut ergo corpus Christi est in illa hostia, sic est substantialiter, corporaliter ibidem, et dimensionaliter, attendendo ad modum hostie secundum naturam suam, et non attendendo ad corpus Christi, et ad naturam suam, ut dictum est superius. Et ita conceditur quod Corpus Christi est substantia corporalis in hostia consecrata. Sic isto tercio modo in ista hostia secundum rationem qua est ista hostia, sed non secundum rationem qua corpus Christi. Et ita conceditur quod corpus Christi est quantumcunque varie quantificatum ibi cum sit quelibet pars quantitativa illius hostie, et tum non quantificatur aliqua huiusmodi quantitate, et sic

est varie magnum in diversis partibus illius hostie, sed non in se formaliter magnum, aliqua tali magnitudine. Sed multi mussitant super isto quod sequitur ex ista sententia quod corpus Christi non sit in Eucharistia aliter quam in signo, sic autem est in ymagine crucifixi. Hic dicunt fideles quod corpus Christi non est in celo vel in humanitate assumpta aliter quam in signo, est tamen ibi aliter quam ut in signo. Nam Sacramentum in quantum hujusmodi est signum, et humanitas est signum, cum Luce 2^{do} dicitur *quod positus est hic in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum et in signum cui contradicetur*. Et secunda pars conclusionis patet ex hoc quod alius est modus essendi signum corporis Christi, et alius modus essendi vere et realiter virtute verborum domini corporis Christi. Conceditur tamen quod isti duo modi inseparabiliter comitantur. Hoc tamen signum infinitum est prestancius quam signa corporis Christi in lege veteri, vel ymagine in lege nova, cum sit simul veritas et figura. Intellego autem dicta mea in ista materia, secundum logicam scripture, nec non secundum logicam sanctorum doctorum et decreti Romane Ecclesie. Quos suppono prudenter fuisse locutos. Non enim valet scandalizare totam Romanam Ecclesiam quum dicit panem et vinum esse post consecrationem, corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, et non obstante errore glosomium ista fides mansit continue in Ecclesia eciam apud laicos. Cum ergo fidelis non optaret comedere corporaliter sed spiritualiter corpus Christi, patet quod omnis sciens aptavit illum modum spirituales essendi corporis sui cum hostia que debet comedi a fidei: Alium autem modum essendi cum foret superfluous abstrahabat. Unde infideles murmurant cum illis qui abierunt retrorsum dicentes, *Durus est hic sermo*, cum corpus sit corporaliter comedendum, vel cum illis observatoribus legalium legis veteris qui non putant esse prestanciozem gradum in signo Eucharistie quam fuit in signis legis veteris, vel quam est in signis humanitus institutis. Et hii fingunt quod accidens potest fieri corpus Christi, et quod melius et planius dixisset Christus hoc accidens sine subjecto significat cor-

pus meum. Utraque autem istarum sectarum ex ignorantia graduum in signis est infideli deterior. Teneamus ergo quod virtute verborum Christi Panis iste fit et est miraculose corpus Christi ultra possibilitatem signi ad hoc humanitus instituti. Veruntamen ista unitas vel unio sive acceptio non attingit ad unitatem ydempticam numeralem vel unionem ypostaticam, sed creditur quod sic immediate post illam, et sic accidentia corporalia corporis Christi ut quantitates corporales corporis Christi videntur non multiplicati comitantur ad corpus Christi in hostia, et per idem nec alia accidentia respectiva que fundantur in istis quod omnia ista accidentia perexigunt esse corporale subjecti sui ubicunque fuerint. Ut si hic sic septipedalitas, color, vel substantia corporalis corporis Christi tunc hic est quod corpus Christi est septipedale coloratum et corporaliter glorificatum, et per consequens Christus habet hic existenciam corporalem, quod cum sit falsum negandum est talia accidentia secundum conditiones materiales multiplicari comitantur ad corpus Christi in hostia consecrata. Partes autem quantitative corporis Christi habent esse spirituale in hostia, immo habent esse sacramentale ibidem, cum sunt quodammodo quelibet pars quantitativa istius hostie, et multo magis multiplicatur anima Christi per hostiam secundum quoddam esse spirituale quam est illud esse quod habet in corpore Christi in cœlo. Et causa hujus multiplicacionis anime Christi est quod ipsa est principalius ipso corpore persona verbi. Qualitates autem immateriales quæ subjectantur in anima Christi multiplicantur cum ipsa per hostiam, ut scientia, justitia et alie virtutes animæ Christi que non requirunt pre-existentiam corporalem Christi ubicunque fuerint. Ipse enim fuerunt cum ipso, quia cum ejus anima in inferno. Sicut ergo per totam hostiam est Christus virtuosus; sic est per illam virtus Christi. Unde Autor *de divinis officiis* quod propter esse spirituale corporis Christi in hostia, est ibi concomitancia Angelorum, quia tamen sophisticari potest ista oblacio ex defectu potestatis fidei, et verborum presbyteri ideo a meti religiosi adorant conditionaliter hanc

* Sic MS.

hostiam et in corpore Christi quod est substancialiter et ineffabiliter quietati. Sed ydiote remurmurant querentes quomodo corpus est ille panis sanctus cum non ^b sint idem ^b Sic MS. secundum substanciam vel naturam? Sed ipsos oportet addiscere fidem de incarnatione, quomodo due substancie vel nature valde differentes sunt idem suppositum et tamen non sunt eedem, quia utraque earum est Christus et tunc possunt a posse non ascendere ad cognoscendum istam miraculosam unionem servata utraque natura non ydemptifica verbo Dei. Sed oportet eos cognoscere gradus in signis, et deponere infundabilem blasphemiam de fictis miraculis ascendentis, et credere virtutem verborum Christi, et tunc possunt cognoscere quomodo ille panis est ^c bn. ^c Sic MS. miraculose, vere, realiter, spiritualiter, virtualiter, et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. ^{for. bene.} Sed grossi non contentantur de istis modis, sed exigunt quod panis ille vel saltem per ipsum sit substancialiter et corporaliter corpus Christi. Sic enim volunt zelus blasphemorum Christum comedere sed non possunt. Adducitur autem super hoc testimonium Hugonis de Sancto Victore libro 2^o de sacramentis parte 8. cap. 7. Quemadmodum species illic cernitur res vel substantia ibi esse non creditur: Sic res ibi veraciter et substancialiter presens creditur cujus species non cernitur. Exemplum ad illum Doctorem patet, quia ille subtiliter inculcat catholicam sententiam supradictam, vult enim quod species sencibiliter cernitur ibi, et quod ista species sit essentialiter panis et vinum quod etiam cernitur licet per accidens, ideo sepe vocat ipsum panem et vinum, que sunt alimenta solita et principalis substantia alimenti ut patet in dicto cap. et cap. sequenti. Ibidem autem dicit panem dicit habere rem vel substanciam que creditur non ibi cernitur, cum sit corpus Christi. Sed pro isto adverbio substancialiter notandum quodcumque sumitur simpliciter pro modo substancie sic quod idem sit corpus Christi esse ibi substancialiter, et esse ibi modo substancie. Et sic loquitur Hugo. Quandoque superaddit reduplicative rationem corporis in quantum talis substantia. Et sic proprie intelligo ego adverbia. Unde eodem cap. dicitur quod corporaliter secun-

^a Sic MS.

dum corporis et sanguinis Christi virtutem Christum sumimus in altari. Quod oportet sic intelligi quod spiritualiter sumimus carnem Christi. Et iste est verus modus corporis licet non sit modus consequens corpus in quantum corpus. Quia Johannis 6. dicit Christus, *Caro non prodest quicquam*. Cum nec sententia carnalis, nec manducatio corporalis corporis Domini quicquam prodest. Nam insensibiliter sumitur quantum ad formam corporis sui, ut dicit doctor cap. 9. ejusdem partis, sed visibiliter quoad substantiam sacramenti. Unde talis equivocatio facta est in adverbiiis ad excellenciam Eucharistie super figuras legis veteris declarandam. Nostra autem locutio est propria, quia aliter oporteret concedere quod esse substantialiter sit esse accidentaliter; esse corporaliter, sit esse spiritualiter; esse carnaliter sit esse virtualiter; et esse dimensive sit esse multiplicative; et periret modo non distinctio. Sicut ergo conceditur quod corpus Christi cernitur vel tenetur in symbolis, vel in hostia et sentitur, quod tamen non sic ^dmo^s quia non secundum naturam corporis Christi vel in quantum ipsum corpus. Sic conceditur quod corpus Christi est in hostia modo accidentali substantie quia modo spirituali et sacramentali presupponente tres alios modos realiores ipsius corporis existere causative: Sic autem non fuit in figuris legis veteris, vel in figuris legis nostre humanitus institutis. Et sic possunt distingui modus prior quo est in celo, et modus posterior quo est in sacramento. Sic autem in tribus discrepamus a sectis signorum. Primo in hoc quod ponimus venerabile sacramentum altaris esse naturaliter panem et vinum, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi et sanguinem; sed secta contraria fingit ipsum esse vinum ignotum: Accidens sine substantia subjecta. Et ex ista radice erroris pullulant nimis multe varietates erroris. Nam secta nostra adorat sacramentum, non ut panis aut vini substantiam: Sed ut corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed secta cultorum accidencium, ut credo, adorat hoc sacramentum non ut est accidens sine subjecto, sed ut est signum sacramentale corporis Christi et sanguinis. Signa autem cultus sui ostendunt quod adorant crucem

et alias ymagines Ecclesie que habent minorem rationem adoracionis quam hoc venerabile sacramentum. Nam in quacunque substantia creata est deitas realius et substantialius quam corpus Christi est in hostia consecrata? Ideo nisi ipsa fuerit virtute verborum Christi corpus ^e sum. non ^e Sic MS. est ratio tante excellencie adorandum. Tercio secta nostra per equivocacionis detectionem, et aliarum fallaciarum tollit argucias adversancium, ut aliqua locuntur sancti de sacramento ut panis, et aliqua dicunt de isto non ut ydemp-tice, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed secta adversariorum ^g inculpat difficultates inutiles, et fingit conse-^{ff. inculcat.} quenter miracula de operacionibus accidentis. Sunt autem ex nostra sententia diffinicio summi judicis Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui in cena noctis sue tradicionis accepit panem in manibus suis, benedixit et fregit et manducare ex eo generaliter precepit, *Hoc, inquit, est corpus meum.* Cum autem daretur panis quem tociens replicavit pro nomine dandi et totum residuum ^g ppo. sigt. illi qui mentiri ^g proprio non potest ipsum esse corpus suum: manifestum est ex ^{signavit.} autoritate et dictis Christi, quod panis ille fuit sacramentaliter corpus suum. Adducantur autem septem testes ad testificandum Ecclesie judicis hujus sententiam. Primus est beatus Ignacius Apostolis contemporaneus qui ab illis et cum illis ^h acce a Domino sensum suum, et recitat eum ^h Sic MS. Lincolniensis super Ecclesiastica ierarchia cap. 3. *Sacra-^{pro accepit.} mentum, inquit, vel Eukaristia est corpus Christi.* Secundus testis Beatus Cyprianus in epistola sua de corpore Christi. *Calicem, inquit, accipiens in die passionis benedixit, dedit discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est sanguis testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum; Amen dico vobis, non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem quo vobiscum bibam novum in regno patris mei. Quam parte, inquit sanctus, invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse, quem obtulit, et vinum quem sanguinem suum dixit.* Tercius testis est Beatus Ambrosius in lib. suo *de sacramentis* et ponitur *de consecracione* dis. 2. cap. *Panis est in Altari. Quod erat panis, inquit, ante consecracionem jam corpus*

Christi post consecrationem. Quartus testis est Beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone exponens illud Luce 34. *cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis: Non omnis panis, inquit, sed accipiens benedictionem Christi fit corpus Christi.* Et ponitur in Canone ubi supra. Quintus testis est Beatus Jeromius in epistola ad Elvideam, *Nos, inquit, audiamus panem quem fregit Dominus, deditque discipulis suis esse corpus Domini Salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos, Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.* Sextus testis est Decretum Romane Ecclesie, que sub Nicolao 2^o et 114 Epist. ⁱ dectavit prudenter secundum rectam logicam que debet capi a tota Ecclesia, quod panis et vinum que in altari ponuntur sunt post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut patet in can. ubi supra. Septimus testis est usus Ecclesie que in canone misse habet, *ut hec oblatio fiat nobis corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi.* Illam autem oblacionem vocat Ecclesia terrenam substanciam, sicut patet in secreto medie misse Natalis Domini. Ista autem septem testimonia sic inficiunt glossatores, qui dicunt tacite omnia talia dicta sanctorum debere intelligi per suum contrarium, et sic negari finaliter cum scriptura. Penset itaque fidelis si sanum fuerit hereticare vel in hoc scandalizare hos testes et multos similes. Penset 2^o quid tenderet ad honorem corporis Christi vel devocionem populi quod ipsum corpus dignissimum sit unum accidens sine subjecto, quod Augustinus dicit esse non posse, vel si est, est unum vel aliud abjectissimum in natura. Tunc inquam foret ^k Aug^s meus ut constat hereticus qui in epistola 14 ad Bonifacium de fide Ecclesie ita scribit. *Si, inquit, Sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac eciam similitudine plerumque jam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.* Ubi planum est quod loquitur de Sacramento ^l scⁿtico quod fingitur accidens sine sub-

Sic MS.

^k Sic MS.
pro Augustinus.

^l Sic MS.

jecto. Sed que rogo similitudo ejus ad corpus Christi? Revera fructus illius demencie foret blasphemare in Deum, scandalizare Sanctos, et illudere Ecclesie per mendacia accidentis. Ad tantum quidem Testimonium Sanctorum per glosatores subvertitur, quod committo sensui equivoco quodcunque dictum eciam scripture non facit fidem. Postremo scribit Hyllarius ut recitatur inde *consecra. di. 2. Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari figura est dum panis et vinum extra videtur: Videas autem cum corpus et sanguis Christi in veritate interiorius creditur.* Ecce quam plane panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum, ut dicit decretum *Ego Berengarius.* Unde ad delegendum equivocacionem illius materie scribitur ibidem secundum verba Jeronimi, *De hac quidem hostia que in Christi commemoratione mirabiliter fit, edere licet.* Ubi planum est quod loquitur de esu corporali et distinguit inter has duas hostias secundum sui substancias vel naturas. Licet panis iste sit secundum rationem alia quam sacramentum ipsum corpus, ut ipse sanctus dicit in Epistola ad ^m Elbideam, ut recitatur superius. Et patet quam spissi cultores signorum ^{m Helvidium.} sunt in materia ista heretici. Nedum quia imponunt heresim fidelibus qui elucidant istam fidem; et accusacio de heresi obligat ad penam talionis; verum quia falsificant et sic negant Dominum Jesum Christum. Nam nihil debemus secundum fidem Evangelii Christo credere, si non asseruit panem quem cepit in manibus ac fregit, esse corpus suum: sicut dicit Augustinus super ⁿ p. 66. *Si ego quicquam dixero, nolite ex hoc credere; sed si Christus dicit, ve qui non credit.* ^{n Sic MS. for. Psalmum.} Hec debemus credere aliquem secundum Evangelium si non istum. Ideo ve generacioni adultere que plus credit testimonio Innocencii vel Raymundi quam sensui Evangelii capto a Testibus supradictis. Idem enim esset scandalizare illos in isto et imponere eis heresim ex perversione sensus scripture, precipue et iterum de ore perverso Apostate accumulantis super Ecclesiam Romanam mendacia quibus fingit quod Ecclesia posterior priori contraria correxit fidem quod sacramentum istud sit accidens sine subjecto, et non verus panis et vinum, ut di-

cit Evangelium cum decreto. Nam teste Augustino tale accidens sine subjecto non potest sacerdos conficere. Et tamen tantum magnificant sacerdotes Baal, mendaciter indubie juxta scolam patris sui, consecrationem hujus accidentis quod reputant missas alias indignas audiri, vel dissensientes suis mendaciis inhabiles alicubi graduari; sed credo quod finaliter veritas vincet eos.

No. 22.

Spelman,
vol. ii. p.
628.

Potestas Regia concessa Archiepiscopo et aliis Episcopis ad arestandum quoscunque prædicantes hæresin, seu sustinentes conclusiones damnatas. scil. Archiep. Courtney 1382.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint salutem; significante nobis venerabili patre Wilhelmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primate, per petitionem suam nobis exhibitam, pleno concepimus intellectu, quod quam plures conclusiones sanæ doctrinæ obviantes et in fidei Catholicæ Ecclesiæ sanctæ ac suæ provinciæ subversionem notorie redundantes in locis diversis infra provinciam prædictam fuerunt palam et publice licet damnabiliter prædicatæ; quarum quidem conclusionum quædam ut hæreses, cæteræ vero ut errores per Ecclesiam damnatæ, habita inde prius bona et matura deliberatione de communi consilio ipsius Archiepiscopi, suffraganeorum suorum, quam plurimum in Theologia Doctorum, aliorumque Clericorum in sacris Scripturis peritorum, fuerunt sententialiter et salubriter declaratæ. Super quo, supplicato nobis per ipsum Archiepiscopum, ut pro coercione debitaque castigatione illorum, qui conclusiones prædictas extunc prædicare seu manutenere vellent animo obstinato, dignaremur opponere brachium Regiæ potestatis: Nos, zelo fidei Catholicæ cujus sumus et esse volumus defensores, in om-

nibus ut tenemur commoti, nolentesque sustinere hujusmodi hæreses aut errores infra terminos nostræ potestatis aliqually pullulari, præfato Archiepiscopo ejusque suffraganeis, ad omnes et singulos, qui dictas conclusiones sic damnatas prædicare, seu manutenere vellent, clam vel palam ubicunque inveniri possent arrestandos, et prisonis suis propriis, seu aliorum pro eorum beneplacito committendos, in eisdem detinendos, quousque ab errorum et hæresium pravitatibus resipiscant; vel de hujusmodi arrestatis per nos vel consilium nostrum aliter foret provisum, auctoritatem et licentiam tenore præsentium concedimus et committimus speciales. Mandantes insuper et injungentes universis et singulis ligeis ministris, et subditis nostris cujuscunque status seu conditionis fuerint, in fide et ligiancia quibus nobis tenentur, ne ipsi manutentoribus sive prædicatoribus dictarum conclusionum sic condemnatarum, aut eorum fautoribus faveant, consulant, aut auxilientur ullo modo, sub forisfactura omnium quæ nobis forisfacere poterint in eventu: sed potius præfato Archiepiscopo, ejusque suffraganeis, ac ministris suis in executione præsentium pareant, obediant humiliter, et intendant: Sic quod debita et aperta publicatio adversus conclusiones prædictas, et earum manutentores, absque perturbatione fieri valeat, prout pro defensione et conservatione fidei Catholicæ fuerit salubrius faciendum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westm. XII. die Julii anno regni nostri sexto.

No. 23.

Dr. Wiclif's Letter of Excuse to Pope Urban VI.

Bibl. Bodl.
MS.

I HAVE joyfully to telle alle trew men the bileve that I hold, and ^a algatis to the Pope. For I suppose, that if any faith ^a always be rightful and geven of God, the Pope will gladly conserve it: and if my faith be error, the Pope will wisely amend it. I suppose over this, that the Gospel of Christ be part of

the corps of God's lawe. For I beleve that Jesu Christ that gaf in his own persoun this Gospel is very God and very mon, and be this it passes all other lawes. I suppose over this, that the Pope be most oblischid to the keeping of the Gospel among all men that liven here. For the Pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in erth. For

^b greatness. ^b moreness of Christ's vicars is not measured by worldly
^c follows. moreness, bot by this, that this vicar ^c sues more Christ by vertuous living: for thus teches the Gospel. That this is the sentence of Christ and of his Gospel I take as bileve; that Christ for time that he walked here was most poore

^d possessions. mon of alle both in spirit and in ^d haveing; for Christ says that he had noht for to rest his hede on. And over this I take as bileve, that no mon schulde sue the Pope, ne no

^e as much. saint that now is in hevene, bot in ^e alsmyche as he sued Christ: for James and John errid, and Peter and Powl sinned. Of this I take as holesome counseile, that the Pope leeve his worldly lordschip to worldly lordes, as Christ gaf him, and move speedily all his Clerks to do so: for thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciplis, till the fende had blynded this world. And if I erre in this sentence I will mekely be amendid, hif by the death, hif it be skilful, for that I hope were gode to me. And if I might ^f traveile in my own persoun, I wolde with God's will go to the Pope. Bot [Christ] has nedid me to the contrary, and taught me more obeishe to God than to mon. And I suppose of our Pope that he will not be Antichrist, and reverse Christ in this wirking to the contrary of Christ's wille. For if he summons ageyns resoun by him or any of his, and pursue this unskilful summoning, he is an open Antichrist. And merciful entent excusid not Petir that ne Christ ^g clepid him Sathanas: so blynd entent and wicked conseil excuses not the Pope here, bot if he aske of trewe Prestis that they traveile more than they may, 'tis not excused by resoun of God that ne he is Antichrist. For our bileve techis us

^f This seems to intimate that Dr. Wiclif was cited by the Pope to appear before him after his retiring to Lutterworth, and that he pleaded his being a paralytic as his excuse.

that our blessid God suffrys us not to be temptyd more than we may; how schuld a mon aske such service? And therefore pray we to God for our Pope Urban the ^h Sex^h sixth. that his old holy entent be not quenched by his enemys. And Christ that may not lye seis that the enemyes of a mon be especially his homelye ⁱ meinth, and this is ^k sothⁱ family. ^k truth. of men and fendis.

No. 24.

Dr. Wiclif's Confession concerning the Eucharist.

Knighton
de Event.
coll.

I KNOWLECHE that the Sacrament of the Autar is very Goddus boddy in fourme of brede: but it is in another manner Goddus boddy then it is in hevene. For in hevene it is ^a sene fote, in fourme and figure of fleshe and blode: but in the Sacrament, Goddus boddy is be myracle of God in fourme of brede: and is he nouthur of sene fote, ne in mannes figure, but as a man leeves for to thenk the kinde of an ymage whether it be of oke or of ashe, and settys his thought in him in whom is the ymage: so myche more schuld a man leve to thenk on the kynde of brede, but thenk upon Christ; for his body is the same brede that is the Sacramente of the Autere, and with alle clenness, alle devotion, and alle charitye that God wolde gif him worshippe he Crist, and then he receives God ghostly more ^b meedfully than the Priest that syngus the masse in less ^b benefici-
charity. For the bodely etyng ne profites nouth to soule, ^cially. but in ^c alsmykul as the soule is fedde with charity. This ^c as much. sentence is provyde be Crist that may nought lye. For, as the Gospel says, Christ that night that he was betrayed of Judas Scarioth he toke brede in hise hondes, and blesside it, brak it, and gaf it to hise disciplus to ete. For he says and may not lye, This is my body.

* Seven foot *ŕenen beðð ƿeoƿon ƿota lang* — Menolog. Sax. apud Hickes's Gram. Angl. Sax. p. 220. Bede de loc. sanct. p. 316. conf. 201.

No. 25.

Cotton.
Bibl. Otho.
A. 14.

Narratio de morte subitanea Joannis Wycliffe scripta propria manu Thomæ Gascoigne, qui olim Doctor erat sacræ Theologiæ in Academia Oxoniensi.

Jesu Maria.

MAGISTER Joannes Wicliff Anglicus per Dominum Thomam Arundell Episcopum Cantuariensem fuit post mortem suam excommunicatus, et postea per Doctorem in sacra Theologia Oxoniæ, sci: Magistrum Ricardum Flemmyng Eboracensis Dioceseos et nunc Episcopum Lincolnensem fuit exhumatus, et ossa ejus combusta, et cineres ejus in aqua juxta Lyttyrwort projecte fuerunt ex mandato Pape Martini V. Et iste Wycleff fuit paralyticus per duos annos ante mortem suam, et anno Domini 1384 obiit in die sabbati in die Sancti Sylvestri in vigilia Circumcisionis Domini, et in eodem anno sc. in die sanctorum Innocentium audiens missam in Ecclesia sua de Lyttyrwort circa elevationem Sacramenti Altaris decidit percussus magna paralisi et specialiter in lingua, ita quod nec tunc, nec postea loqui potuit usque ad mortem suam. In introitu autem sui in Ecclesiam suam loquebatur, sed sic ut percussus paralysi in eadem die loqui non potuit, nec unquam postea loquebatur. Hæc dixit mihi Dominus Joannes Horn sacerdos octogenarius qui fuit sacerdos parochialis cum Wicliff per duos annos usque ad diem mortis Wicliff, et mihi juravit sic dicendo; sicut respondebo coram Deo, novi ista fuisse vera, et quia vidi testimonium perhibui.

Hoc ille dixit mihi doctori Gascoigno Anno Domini 1441°.

No. 27.

Conclusiones Lollardorum in quodam libello porrectæ pleno Parlamento Regis Angliæ, regnante illustris-
simo Principe Richardo II^o, anno ejus circiter XVIII^o.

A. D. 1394.
 E codice
 MS. in Bibl.
 Cotton. sub
 effigie Cleo-
 patræ [E.2.]
 f. 210. a.

PRIMA Conclusio est, quod quando Ecclesia Angliæ incepit delirare in temporalitate secundum novercam suam magnam Ecclesiam Romanam, et Ecclesiæ fuerant auctorizatæ per appropriationem diversis locis, fides, spes, charitas inceperunt fugere de Ecclesia nostra; quia superbia cum sua dolorosa genealogia mortalium peccatorum vendicabat hoc titulo veritatis. Ista Conclusio est generalis et probata per experientiam, consuetudinem ac manerium sive modum sicut postea audietis.

2. Secunda Conclusio, quod nostrum usuale Sacerdotium quod incepit in Roma, fictum potestate angelis altiori non est istud Sacerdotium quod Christus ordinavit suis Apostolis. Conclusio ista probatur, quia Sacerdotium Romanum factum est cum signis, ritibus et pontificalibus benedictionibus modicæ virtutis, nullibi exemplatis in sacra Scriptura; quia Ordinale Episcopi et Novum Testamentum modicum concordant, et nos nescimus videre quod Spiritus Sanctus propter aliqua talia signa confert aliquod donum, quia ipse et omnia nobilia dona sua non possunt stare cum mortali peccato in nulla persona. Corelarium hujusmodi conclusionis est, quod est dolorosum interludium hominibus sapientibus, videre Episcopos ludere cum Spiritu Sancto in collatione suorum ordinum; quia ipsi dant coronas in caracteribus loco alborum corvorum, et hæc liberata est Antichristi introducta in sanctam Ecclesiam ad colorandum ociositatem.

3. Tertia Conclusio, quod lex continentiae injuncta Sacerdotio, quæ in præjudicium mulierum prius fuit ordinata, inducit Sodomiam in totam sanctam Ecclesiam; sed nos excusamus nos per Bibliam, quia suspectum decretum dicit quod non nominabimus illud. Ratio et experientia pro-

bant istam Conclusionem; ratio, quia delicata cibaria virorum Ecclesiasticorum volunt habere naturalem purgationem vel pejorem. Experientia, quia secreta probatio talium hominum est, quod delectantur in mulieribus, et cum tu probaveris talem hominem, nota eum bene; quia ipse unus ex illis est. Corelarium istius est, privatae religiones et inceptores sive origo istius peccati essent maxime digni annullari, sed Deus de potentia sua super peccatum occultum in Ecclesia sua immittit apertam vindictam.

4. Quarta Conclusio, quod fictum miraculum Sacramenti Panis, inducit omnes homines, nisi sunt pauci in ydolatricam; quia ipsi putant quod corpus Christi quod nunquam est extra coelum, virtute verborum Sacerdotis, includeretur essentialiter in parvo pane quem ipsi ostendunt populo: Sed vellet Deus quod ipsi vellent credere, quod
 a Jo. Wiclif. a Doctor Evangelicus dicit in suo Trialogo, quod panis Altaris est accidentaliter corpus Christi, quia nos supponimus quod per istum modum potest quilibet fidelis homo et mulier in Dei lege facere Sacramentum istius panis sine aliquo tali miraculo. Corelarium concludens est, quod licet corpus Christi sit dotatum sempiterno gaudio, servitium de corpore Christi factum per fratrem Thomam non verum est, sed pictum, plenum falsis miraculis: Nec est mirum, quia frater Thomas illo tempore tenens cum Papa voluisset fecisse miraculum de ovo galinae; et nos cognoscimus bene, quod quodlibet mendacium aperte praedicatum, vertit ad dedecus illius qui semper verax est et sine aliquo defectu.

5. Quinta Conclusio, quod exorcismi, et benedictiones factae super vinum, panem, aquam et oleum, sal, ceram et incensum, lapides altaris et ecclesiae muros, super vestimentum, mitram, crucem et baculos peregrinorum sunt vera practica necromantiae potius quam sacrae theologiae. Ista Conclusio probatur sic; quia per tales exorcismos creaturae honorantur esse altioris virtutis quam sunt in natura sua propria; et nos non videmus aliquid mutationis in aliqua creatura quae est sic exorcisata, nisi per falsam fidem quod est principale artis diabolicae. Corelarium, quod

si liber exorcisandi aquam benedictam lectus bene in Ecclesia esset, totus fidelis; nos cogitamus veraciter, quod aqua benedicta usitata in sacra Ecclesia, foret optima medicina pro omnimodis languoribus, videlicet *sorrys*, cujus contrarium indies experimur.

6. Sexta Conclusio, quod Rex et Episcopus in una persona; Prælati et Judex in temporalibus causis; Curatus et Officialis in mundiali officio facit quodlibet regnum extra bonum regimen. Ista Conclusio aperte ostenditur; quia temporale et spirituale sunt duæ partes totius Ecclesiæ sanctæ, et ideo iste qui posuit se ad unum non intromittat se de alio, et *nemo potest duobus dominis servire, &c.* Videtur quod hermaphroditus vel ambidexter essent bona nomina pro talibus hominibus duplicis status. Corelarium est, quod ideo nos Procuratores Dei in ista causa prosequimur erga Parliamentum, quod omnimodi Curati tam superiores quam inferiores sint plene excusati, et occupent se cum cura sua et nulla alia.

7. Septima Conclusio, quod spirituales orationes pro animabus mortuorum factæ in Ecclesia nostra, præferentes unum per nomen antequam alium, est falsum fundamentum eleemosynæ, super quod omnes domus eleemosynarum Angliæ nequiter sunt fundatæ. Ista Conclusio probatur per duas rationes; una est, quod oratio meritoria et alicujus valoris deberet esse opus procedens ab alta charitate; et perfecta charitas excipit nullam personam, quia *diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*. Quapropter apparet nobis quod donum boni temporalis collatum Sacerdotibus, et eleemosynarum domibus est principale consilium spiritualis orationis, quæ non est longe a Simonia. Alia enim ratio est, quia spiritualis oratio facta pro hominibus damnatis ad sempiternam pœnam, est Deo multum displicens, et quamvis sit dubium, verisimile est fidei populo Christiano, quod fundatores eleemosynarum domus, propter suam venenosam dotationem sunt pro majori parte pertransiti latam viam. Corelarium est, oratio valoris procedens ex charitate perfecta amplexaret in generali omnes quos Deus vellet habere salvatos, et dimitteret illam usitatam mercan-

disam pro spiritualibus orationibus factam mendicantibus possessionatis, et aliis Sacerdotibus conducticiis, ^a qui sunt populo magni operis toti regno manutentus in ociositate, quia fuit probatum in uno libro quem Rex habuit quod centum Domus eleemosinarum sufficiunt toti regno, et ex hoc proveniret majus incrementum possibile temporali parti.

8. Octava Conclusio, quod peregrinationes, orationes, et oblationes factæ cœcis Crucibus sive *Rodys* et surdis ymaginibus de ligno et lapide, sunt prope consanguineæ ad ydolatriam, et longe ab eleemosina: Et quamvis ista inhibita et imaginaria sint liber erroris populo laicali adhuc ymago usualis de Trinitate est maxime abhominabilis. Istam Conclusionem Deus aperte ostendit, præcipiens eleemosynam fieri homini indigenti: quia ipsi sunt ymago Dei in majori similitudine quam lignum vel lapis; quia Deus non dixit, faciamus lignum vel lapidem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram, sed hominem; quia supremus honor quem Clerici nominant *latrîam* pertinet ad Deitatem solum; et inferior honor quem Clerici vocant *duliam* pertinet ad hominem et angelum, et ad nullam aliam inferiorem creaturam. Corelarium est quod servicium de Cruce factum bis quolibet anno in nostra Ecclesia est plenum ydolatria, quia si illi clavi et lancea deberent ita alte honorari, tunc essent labia Judæ, si quis posset habere, ^b veræ reliquię. Sed rogamus te peregrinum ad narrandum nobis, quando tu offers ossibus Sanctorum in scrinio positis in aliquo loco, utrum tu relevas Sanctum qui est in gaudio, vel illud pauperum eleemosinæ domicilium quod est ita bene dotatum, ob quod homines sunt canonizati Deus scit quomodo, et ad loquendum magis plane, fidelis Christianus supponit, quod puncta illius nobilis hominis, quem homines vocant Sanctum Thomam non fuerunt causa martyrii.

9. Nona Conclusio, quod auricularis confessio quæ di-

^b valde bona.

^a So it is in Spelman, but it seems to be miswritten. Fox thus translates this part of the sentence: "Which otherwise were strong enough to work, " and to serve the whole realm, and maintaineth the same in idleness to the " great charge of the realm." Vol. i. p. 663. c. 1. ed. 1632.

citur tam necessaria ad salvationem hominis cum ficta potestate absolutionis, exaltat superbiam Sacerdotum, et dat illis opportunitatem secretarum sermocinationum quas nos nolumus dicere, quia Domini et Dominæ attestantur quod pro timore confessorum suorum non audent dicere veritatem, et in tempore confessionis est opportunum tempus procationis (id est) *of Wowyng* et aliarum secretarum conventionum ad peccata mortalia. Ipsi dicunt quod sunt Commissarii Dei ad judicandum de omni peccato; ad perdonandum et mundandum quemcunque eis placuerint. Dicunt quod habent claves Cœli et Inferni, et possunt excommunicare et benedicere, ligare et solvere ad voluntatem eorum, in tantum, quod pro * tussello vel xii denariis volunt vendere benedictionem Cœli per Cartam et clausulam de warrantia sigillata Sigillo communi. Ista Conclusio sic est in usu quod non indiget probatione aliqua. Corelarium est quod Papa Romanus qui fingitur altus Thesaurarius totius Ecclesiæ, habens illud dignum jocale passionis Christi in custodia, cum meritis omnium sanctorum in Cœlo, per quod dat fictam indulgentiam a pœna et culpa, est * corelarius scriptus; maxime extra charitatem ex quo potest liberare omnes prisonarios existentes in inferno ad voluntatem suam, et ipsos facere nunquam venire ibidem. Sed sic quilibet fidelis Christianus potest bene videre, quod multa secreta falsitas abscondita est in Ecclesia nostra.

10. Decima Conclusio, quod homicidium per bellum vel prætensam legem Justitiæ pro temporali causa ^c sine spi-^c sive. rituali revelatione, est expresse contrarium Novo Testamento, quod quidem est lex gratiæ et plena misericordiarum. Ista Conclusio est aperte probata per exempla prædicationis Christi hic in terra, qui maxime docuit hominem ad diligendum inimicos, et ad miserandum eis, et non ad occidendum eos. Ratio est hæc, quod pro majori parte, ubi homines pugnant, post primum ictum charitas rumpitur; et quisquis moritur extra charitatem vadit rectam viam ad infernum. Et ultra hoc nos bene cognoscimus, quod nullus clericus scit liberare per scripturam, vel per rationem legitimam punitionem mortis pro uno peccato ~~mor-~~

tali et non pro alio; sed lex misericordiæ quæ est Novum Testamentum inhibet omnimodum homicidium, nam in Evangelio dictum est antiquis, *Non occides*. Corelarium est, quod sane est expoliatio pauperis populi quando Domini adquirunt indulgentias a poena et culpa illis qui juvant exercitum eorum ad interficiendum populum Christianum in longinquis terris pro temporali lucro, sicut et nos vidimus milites qui currunt ad ethnicos (*id est*) in toto *Hethenes* ad quærendum eis nomen in occisione hominum multo magis malos merentur grates de Rege pacis, quia per humilitatem et patientiam nostram fides fuit multiplicata, et pugnatores ac intersectores Christus Jesus odit ac minatur, dicens, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*.

11. Undecima Conclusio, quod votum continentiae factum in nostra Ecclesia per mulieres quæ sunt fragiles et imperfectæ in natura, est causa inductionis maximorum horribilium peccatorum possibilium humanæ naturæ; quia licet interfectio puerorum antequam baptizentur, et abortivorum, et destructio naturæ per medicinam sint turpia peccata, adhuc commixtio cum seipsis vel irrationalibus bestiis, vel creatura non habente vitam tali transcendit indignitate ut puniantur poenis inferni. Corelarium est, quod viduæ et tales quæ accipiunt Mantellum et Annulum delicatè pastæ, vellemus quod essent desponsatæ, quia nescimus eas excusare a privatis peccatis.

12. Duodecima Conclusio, quod multitudo artium non necessariarum usitatarum in nostro regno nutrit multum peccatum in *waste* curiositate et inter *disguising*. Illud ostendit ex parte Experientia et Ratio, quia natura cum paucis artibus sufficit ad necessitatem hominis. ^d“ Corelarium est, quod ex quo Sanctus Paulus dicit, *Habentes victum et vestitum hiis contenti simus*; videtur nobis quod aurifabri et armatores, et omnimodæ artes non necessariæ homini secundum Apostolum destruerentur pro incremento virtutis, quia licet istæ duæ artes nominatæ erant multum necessariæ in antiqua lege, Novum Testamentum evacuat istas et multas alias.”

Hæc est nostra ambassiata, quam Christus præcepit no-

^d Hoc Corollarium deest in Fox.

bis prosequi isto tempore maxime acceptabili pro multis causis. Et quamvis istæ materiæ sint his breviter notatæ, sunt tamen largius declaratæ in alio libro, et multæ aliæ plures totaliter in nostro proprio langagio, quas vellemus ut essent communes toti populo Christiano. Rogamus Deum de maxima sua bonitate, quod reformet nostram Ecclesiam totaliter extra juncturam ac perfectionem sui primi initii.

Versus sequentes prædictas Conclusiones.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,

Paulus fert horum sunt ydola causa malorum.

Surgunt ingrati grezitæ Simone nati,

Nomine prælati hoc defensare parati.

Qui Reges estis populis, quicunque præestis,

Qualiter his gestis gladios prohibere potestis.

No. 28.

*Testimonium Universitatis Oxoniensis de Doctrina et Vita
Joannis Wicleff.*

UNIVERSIS Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis, Coetusque Magistrorum unanimis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quia strenuorum facta, proborum laudes et merita perpetuo non condecet silentio prætermitti, set ut ipsa relatione continua in sui testimonium, et alienum exemplum fama veriloqua prædicet in remotis: Quia etiam sagax humanæ naturæ discretio hominum crudelitate pensata contra blasphemantes alternos insultus, hunc modum referendi, et hunc clypeum defensionis instituit, ut, cum vocale testimonium ubique adesse non potest, suppleat calamus per scripturam; hinc est, quod specialis benevolentiae animus, ac teneritatis curam super Universitatis nostræ quondam filio Joanne Wicleff, sacre Theologiæ Professore secundum morum suorum exigentiam possidentes, corde, voce, et scriptura, suas condiciones in vita

laudabiles fuisse attestamur. Cujus morum honestatem, sententiarum profunditatem, et redolentis famæ suavitatem ad communem fidelium notitiam, eo ferventius cupimus pervenire, quo suæ conversationis maturitas, ac laborum assiduitas, ad Dei laudem, proximorum salutem, Ecclesiæque profectum evidentius tendere dignoscatur. Vobis igitur patefacimus per præsentēs, quod ejus conversatio ab annis teneris in tempus sui obitus continuata, sic præclara extitit et honesta, ut nunquam de ipso irretitio vel suspicionis sinistrae ac infamiæ nota respersa fuerat, sed in respondendo, legendo, prædicando, determinando, laudabiliter se habuit, velut fidei fortis athleta singulos mendicitate spontanea Christi Religionem blasphemantes, sacræ Scripturæ sententiis catholice expugnavit. Nec fuerat predictus Doctor pro hæretica pravitate convictus, aut per nostros Prælatos post ejus humationem traditus incendiis. Absit enim, quod nostri Prælati tantæ probitatis virum pro hæretico condemnassent, qui in Logicalibus, Philosophicis, et Theologicis ac Moralibus, et speculativis, inter omnes nostræ Universitatis, ut credimus, scripserat sine pari. Quæ omnium et singulorum notitiæ, ad quorum manus præsentēs literæ pervenerint, ut dicti Doctoris fama habeatur crebrior, producere delectamur. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras testimoniales, sigillo nostro communi fecimus consignari. Datum Oxoniæ in Domo nostræ Congregationis v. die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini mccccvi.

No. 29.

A. D. 1408. *In a ^a little book written soon after Dr. Wiclif's death by one of his followers, a Friar Minorite is thus represented wheedling a poor man out of his money.*

WE haven forsaken the world, and in wo liveth,

^a Imprinted at London by Reynold Wolfe 1553, 4to. with this title, Pierce the Ploughman's Creed. See Mr. Hearne's edit. of William of Newburgh, vol. iii. p. 770, 771, 772.

In penaunce and poverté, and precheth the puple,
 By ensample of our liif, souls to helpen,
 And in poverté preien for al our parteneres
 That gyveth us any good, God to honouren,
 Other bel, other book, or bred to our foode,
 Other cattel, other cloth, to coveren with our bones :
 Moneye, other money worth ^b here mede is in heven : ^b their re-
 ward.
 For we buldeth a burrogh a brod and a large ;
 A chirche and chapitle, with chambers alofte,
 With wyde wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel heye
 That mote ben portreid, and paint, and pulched ful clene
 With gay glitering glas, ^c glowyng as the sunne. ^c shining.
 And mightestou amenden us with moneye of thyn owen,
 Thou chouldest knely bifore Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the mydel,
 And Saint Francis hymselfe shal folden the in his cope,
 And present the to the Trinite, and praye for thy synnes.
 Thy name shal noblich ben wryten and wrought for the
^d nones ^d purpose.
 And in remembrance of the ^e yrad there for ever. ^e read.

Thus did the crafty Friars, to gain their own ends, sooth
 the pride and vanity of men. And how successful they
 were in so doing, the same writer shews in a description
 which he gives of one of the Convents of the Preaching
 Friars.

Than thought I to ^f frayne the first of this foure Orders, ^f ask.
 And presed to the Prechoures to proven ^g her wille ^g their.
^h Ich highed to her house to herken of more, ^h I hasted.
 And when I came to that court I gaped aboute,
ⁱ Swich a bild bold ybult upon erthe heighte, ⁱ such.
 Say I nought in certeyn ^k sythen a long tyme ^k afterward.
 I ^l semed upon that hous, and ^m yerne thereon loked, ^l thought.
 Whow the pileres weren ypaint, and pulchud ful clene, ^m earnestly.
 And queyntly ycorven with curious knottes,
 With wyndowes well ywrought, wyde up alofte.
 And thanne I entred in, and even forth wente,
 And al was walled that ⁿ wone, though it wiid were ⁿ building.

- With posternes in privite to passen when hem liste.
 ° used. Orcheyardes and erberes ° euesed wel clene,
 P engraven. And a curious cros craftly P entayled,
 9 look. With tabernacles ytight to 9 toten al abouten;
 The pris of a ploughlond, of penies so rounde
 To aparaile that pyler were pure litel.
 r church. Than I munte me forth the r mynstre to knowen,
 And awaytede a woon wonderly wel ybild,
 * finely carved. With arches on everich half, and s bellyche ycorven
 With crotchetes on corneres, with knottes of gold.
 Wyde wyndowes ywrought, ywriten ful thikke,
 Shynen with shapen sheldes to shewen aboute,
 t mixed. With merkes of merchauntes t ymedeled betwene,
 Mo than twentie and two twyse ynoumbbred.
 Ther is non heraud that hath half swich a rolle
 Right as a u rageman hath rekned hem newe.
 u a justice to hear complaints. Tombes upon tabernacles, tylde opou lofte,
 Housed in hornes harde set abouten
 Of armed alabaustre clad for the nones,
 Maad opou marbel in many manner wyse.
 x arms. Knyghtes in their x conisance clad for the nones,
 Alle it semed seyntes ysacrede opou erthe,
 And lovely ladies ywrought leyen by her sydes,
 y furni- In many gay y garnemens that weren gold beten:
 tures. Though the tax of ten yere were trewely ygadered,
 Nolde it nought maken that house halfe as I trowe.
 Than came I to that cloystre and gaped abouten,
 z how. z Whough it was pilered and peynt, and portreyd wel clene,
 a covered. All a yhyled with leed lowe to the stones.
 b square stone. And ypaved with b poyntil ich poynt after other
 With cundites of clene tyn closed al aboute,
 With lavoures of Latinn lovelyche ygraithed,
 I trowe the gaynage of the ground in a gret shyre
 c would not. c Nold aparaile that place, oo poynt tyl other ende.
 Than was the chapitre house wrought as a greet chirche,
 d quaintly. Corven and covered, and d queyntelyche entayled
 e handsome ceiling; With e semliche selure yseet on lofte,
 As a parlement hous ypeinted aboute.

Thanne ^ffer'd I in to fraytoure and fond there another, ^f inquired.
 An halle for an hygh kynge an houshold to holden,
 With brode bordes abouten ybenched well clene,
 With wyndowes of glaas wrought as a chirche.
 Than walked I ferrer, and went al abouten,
 And ^g seigh halles ful heygh, and houses ful noble, ^g saw.
 Chambres with chymeneys, and chapeles gaye,
 And kychenes for an high kyng in castles to holden:
 And her ^h dortoure ydight with dores ful stronge, ^h dormitory
 Fermery and fraitur, with fele mo houses, ready.
 And al strong stone wal sterne upon heithe,
 With gaye garites and grete and ich hole yglased, ^{He closeth}
 And other houses ynowe to herberwe the Queen. ^{the descrip-}
 And yet thise bilderes wiln beggen a bage ful of whete ^{tion with a}
 Of a pure pore man, that may onethe paye ^{good re-}
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde. ^{mark on the}
^{covetous-}
^{ness of the}
^{Friars.}

In the same manner does our poet Chaucer in his Sompner's Tale represent one of these Friars preaching in a country church; and, after he had got what he could there, begging from house to house.

Lordinges, there is in Yorkshire, as I ghesse,
 A marishe contre callid Holdernesse,
 In which there went a Limitour about,
 To preche, and eke to beg, it is no dout.
 And so bifell that on a day this Frere
 Had preched in a chirche in his manere,
 And specially abovin every thing
 Excitid the pepill in his preching
 To trentalls, and to geve for Goddis sake
 Wherewith men mightin holie housis make,
 There as divine servise is honourid,
 Not there as it is wastid and devourid:
 Ne there it nedith not for to be geve,
 As to Possessioners that may els leve,
 Thonkid be God, in wele and haboundaunce.
 Trentalls, quoth he, deliverith fro penaunce

Ther frendis soulis as well olde as yonge,
 If so that they ben hastily ysonge,
 Not for to holde a preest jolie and gay,
 (He singith not but o messe in a day,)
 Deliverith out, quoth he, anon the soules,
 Full hard it is with fleshe-hoke, or with oules
 To ben yclawid, or to brenne or bake,
 Now spede you hastily for Cristis sake.
 And whan this Frere had said al his entent,
 With *Qui cum Patre*, forth away he went.
 Whan folk in chirche had yeve him what hem lest,
 He went his way, no lengir wolde he rest,
 With scrip and tippid staffe ytucked hie:
 In every house he gan to pore and prie,
 And beggid mele, and chese, or ellis corne.
 His felaw had a staffe tippid with horne,
 A pair of tables alle of ivory,
 A poyntell polishid full fetously,
 And wrote alwey the namis as he stode
 Of alle the folk that yave hem any gode
 Askauncis, as if he wolde for hem prey.
 Yeve us a bushell whete, or malt, or rey,
 A Goddis kichell, or a trip of chese,
 Or ellis what ye list, I may not chese,
 A Goddis half-peny, or a masse-peny,
 Or yeve us of your brawn, if ye have any,
 A dagon of your blanket, leve dame,
 Our sustir dere, lo, here I write your name,
 Bacon or befe, or such thing as ye find.

i alwaies.

A sturdie harlot went hem i ay behind,
 That was her hostis man, and bare a sacke,
 And that men yave hem laid it on his backe.
 And whan he was out at the dore anon,
 He playned away the namis everichone,
 That he before had writtin in his tablis:
 He servid hem with nyfles and with fables.

No. 30.

Determinatio quedam Magistri Johannis Wycliff de Do-
minio contra unum Monachum.

Codd. MSS.
Joh. Seldeni
Arch. B. 10.

INTER alia doctor meus reverendus intromittit se de jure Regni Anglie vitiando jus idem, ut videtur, multum implicite et explicite. Ego autem cum sim peculiaris Regis clericus talis qualis volo libenter induere habitum responsalis defendendo et suadendo quod *Rex potest juste dominari regno Anglie negando tributum Romano Pontifici: Et quod errores regno impositi sunt falsi, et sine evidentia rationis vel legis sibi impositi*: Sed sub conditione hoc assero, quod doctor induat habitum responsalis vel argutoris, se objiciens ex adverso, *quod sit falsum et pseudo-evangelicum quod domini temporales possunt in aliquo casu legitime auferre ab Ecclesiasticis bona sua*: Et cum Rex Anglie frequenter sic abstulit secundum leges et consilium Anglicanum, nec potuit legitime sic facere, (si enim possit videtur ex opinione sua sequi quod Rex non possit legitime hoc facere,) et sic Leges Anglicane et consuetudines pacticate forent illegittime vel pseudo-evangelice in hac parte. Et revera si doctor, ut fingit, sic crederet, videtur tunc quod de lege correptionis fraterne, et professionis Legis Evangelice foret si se pro defensione hujus veritatis et destructione gratanter se exponeret. Tunc enim cessarent amerciamenta, forisfacturæ, et assesme quibus Rex poterit monachos et clericos cum delinquant punire. Secundo, asserit idem doctor, ut scola testatur, quod *in nullo casu licet viros ecclesiasticos coram seculari judice conveniri*: Et allegat ad hoc Archidiaconum in Rosario, et multas alias leges: Et per consequens cum Jura et Consuetudines Anglie affirmant licere judicibus secularibus in causa civili, in causa proditionis, furti, homicidii et similibus convenire religiosos in curia Regis, videtur impugnare Jura et consuetudines Regni. Cum igitur credit assensum suum esse justitiam, et ego, ex adverso, assensum meum esse

justitiam sibi oppositam, videat si velit suam defendere opinionem sive sententiam, et ego libenter volo me exponere, ex adverso tenendo quod Jura Anglie in hac parte sunt nullo modo Juri contraria: Et quod omnia dicta legum et doctorum que videntur sonare istiusmodi, intelligenda sunt quod non licet tradere clericum ad tale examen nisi juris casu et ordine reservatis vel observatis. Sic enim videbitur, si doctor loquitur ex corde volens defendere justitiam, ego non dubito quin jura excipiunt consuetudines et casus alios. Unde huc usque non audebat Ecclesia Romana dirumpere Leges secularium dominorum generales sancitas et rectificatas antequam fuerat sic dotata de layco feodo, de jure personatus, et sibi similibus. Nec audebat negare sequelam quin si juxta legem cujuscunque regni nulli sacre Scripture contrariam, temporales domini ita possunt, tunc legittime ita possunt. Lex enim civilis non destruit, nisi forte fuerit lex iniqua, quod doctor asserit de Lege Anglie memorata. Item tertio asserit quod omnis ablatio rerum ab Ecclesia est injusta. Interdum, ut dicit quod non est possibile— Regem auferre Ecclesiasticis omnia bona cujuscunque Ecclesie nisi sic auferendo peccet a moraliter. Ideo, ut dicit, glossa mea que dicit quod bulle, leges et consuetudines prohibentes ablationes temporalium ab Ecclesia intelligende sunt de ablationibus injustis, est nimis superflua. Et sic innuit quod quicumque Rex abstulerit vel auferat temporalia clericorum vel religiosorum injuste sic fecit vel faciet. Ego autem, ex adverso, offero me ad sustinendum vel suadendum quod talia et temporalia possunt juste ac meritorie auferri ab Ecclesia quamcunque humanis legibus fuerint confirmata. Si autem ego assere-
rem talia contra regem meum, olim fuissent in parlamento dominorum Anglie ventilata: Sed opiniones sunt diffamate ut sint inter homines b amitate. Unum tamen scio quod periculosius est in hac parte hodie impugnare consuetudines et jura regnorum tamdiu a sacris primoribus approbata, quam est reprobare aliquam veritatem quam ego publico. Requirit autem doctor meus cum suis fratribus, cum nimis vehementi instantia, cum ebullitione spirituali et tu-

^a Sic MS.
 pro mortali-
 liter.

^b Sic MS.

more quod ego respondeam ad formas argumentorum suorum et specialiter ad formam et materiam quam fecit pro Papa contra jus Domini Regis. Omne, inquit, dominium donatum sub conditione ad conditionis destructionem dissolvitur: sed Dominus Papa donavit Regi nostro Regnum Anglie sub conditione quod Anglia 700 marcas solveret curie annuatim, que conditio per tempus et tempora est subtracta: ergo Rex Anglie olim decidit a vero dominio Anglie. Et miror quam plurimum quod cum tanta instantia expetunt solutionem hujus rationem et tractatum istius materie, et specialiter cum ^ctum sit ipse mihi et rationibus ^c Sic MS. meis indifferens, sed cuicunque speculativo theologo vel ^{pro tamen.} legiste. Et pepigimus quod non quærendo diverticulas alienas ^d pipsimat fructus ^e q̄ colimus vel ambages procedat ^d Sic MS. ^e Sic MS. directe ad improbandum questionem quam principaliter pepigit impugnare. Sed tres cause dicte sunt michi cur homo facit; primo, ut persona mea sic ad Romanam Curiam diffamata, et aggravatis censuris ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis sit privata. Secundo, ut exhinc sibi et suis benevolentia Romane Curie sit reportata. Et tertio tam ut ut dominante Domino Papa Regno Anglie liberius, capiosius et voluptuosius sine freno correptionis fraterne sint Abbatibus civilia Dominia cumulata. Exhinc quidem dicitur quod, ad Regni injuriam, exceptiones impetrant Thesauri Regni exhaustivas. Ego autem tanquam humilis et obediens filius Romane Ecclesie protestans me nichil velle asserere quod sonaret injuriam dicte Ecclesie, vel rationabiliter offenderet pias aures. Primo ergo transmitto Doctorem meum reverendum ad solutionem hujus argumenti quam audiavi in quodam Consilio a Dominis secularibus esse datam. Primus autem Dominus in armis plus strenuus fertur taliter respondisse. “Regnum, inquit, Anglie “per gladium suorum procerum ab olim quæsitum est, et “contra hostes invadentes eodem gladio defensatum. Sic “enim tributum violente exactum a Julio Cesare, fortificato Regno, rationabili ter est subtractum quod secundum principia ^f aq^l. nullum violentum eternum sive ^f Sic MS.

“perpetuum. Cum ergo sit idem iudicium de dicto redditu
 “Romane Curie sane consulo quod negetur penitus nisi
 “Papa manu valida ipsum poterit extorquere. Quod si
 “temptaverit, meum est pro jure nostro resistere. Secun-
 “dus Dominus arguit sic. Nullis, inquam, debet concedi
 “tributum vel redditus nisi subjectis capacibus : sed Papa
 “non est capax hujus vectigalis, ideo, supposita fraterna
 “subventionem, debet sibi talis exactio denegari. Debet
 “enim Papa esse sequax precipuus Christi : Sed ipse
 “Christus noluit esse proprietarius Civilis Dominii, nec per
 “consequens Papa debet. Nam Mat. viii. quum avarus
 “secularia dominia sentiens, promiserat sequi Christum,
 “sic respondit ad mentem sponte promittentis, *Vulpes, in-*
 “*quam, foramina habent, volucresque celi nidos, filius au-*
 “*tem hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet.* Quasi
 “dixisset, noli putare quod docebo te facere mirabilia sani-
 “tatum ut ex eorum questu acquiras civile dominium,
 “quum nec ego nec mei discipuli volumus esse proprietarii
 “hic in via. Cum igitur debemus Papam ad observantiam
 “religionis sue astringere, probatur quod tenemur in ex-
 “actione hujus conditionis civilis resistere sibi. Tertius
 “Dominus arguit sic, Videtur mihi quod ratio facta et ejus
 “fundamentum retorqueri poterit in Romanum pontificem.
 “Nam cum Papa sit servus servorum Dei, probatur quod
 “non reciperet vectigal de Anglia nisi propter ministerium
 “persolvendum. Cum ergo non edificat Regnum nostrum
 “nec spiritualiter, nec corporalia, sed defalcando tempo-
 “ralia per se et suos confortat pecunia, favore et consilio
 “inimicos, videtur quod debemus provide premissam peti-
 “tionem subtrahere : Subtracta enim per se causa, subtrahi
 “debet et [§] methodum ad eandem. Et quoad assumptum
 “satis experimur defectum Pape et Cardinalium tam in
 “corporali quam in spirituali suffragio. Quartus Dominus.
 “Videtur mihi quod de jure Regni cui sumus astricti, de-
 “bemus Pape resistere in hac parte. Nam juxta principia
 “Pape ipse est capitalis dominus cunctorum bonorum da-
 “torum vel mortificatorum in Ecclesia. Cum ergo circa

§ Sic MS.

“ tertiam partem Regni vel amplius sit mortificatum Ec-
 “ clesie, videtur quod Papa sit Dominus illorum omnium :
 “ In cujus signum post vacationem particularis Ecclesie
 “ per mortem prepositi exigit tanquam illorum bonorum
 “ dominus primos fructus. Cum ergo in civili dominio
 “ non possunt esse duo dominantes ex æquo, sed oportet
 “ quod unus sit capitalis dominus, et alter subdominans,
 “ videtur quod oportet vel concedere pro tempore vaca-
 “ tionis Papam esse tenentem Regis Anglie vel e contra.
 “ Regem autem nostrum nolumus in hac parte sibi subji-
 “ cere, cum donans quisque ad manum mortuam sibi re-
 “ servat capitale dominium. Immo relinquitur quod Papa
 “ debet pro isto tempore esse Regni vel Regis subditus vel
 “ vassallus : Cum ergo continue defecit ab ejus homagio
 “ atque servitio, videtur quod olim negligens ^b fore fecit, ^b Sic MS.
 “ nec sunt tales conditiones minute quoad tempus et pre- ^{pro foris fe-}
 “ tium parvipendende, cum talia parva tracta in consequen-
 “ tiam, ex processu temporis adolentur in majora ; cum
 “ enim ex latenter vel repente mortificatione dominorum
 “ Anglie vendicat Papa esse utilior Dominus quam Rex
 “ Anglie ipsum pertinens ad coronam. Quintus Dominus.
 “ Monet me plurimum utrum illa conditio fuit addita prop-
 “ ter beneficium absolutionis, vel relaxationem interdicti vel
 “ exheredationem qua Papa Regi Johanni reddidit regnum
 “ nostrum : Quia certus sum quod non pure graviter in
 “ perpetuam elemosinam concessit curie talium donum.
 “ Si primo modo vel secundo, dico quod tunc debet condi-
 “ tio ex inhonestate symoniaca interrumpi. Non enim
 “ licet dare spirituale beneficium, interveniente sic gravati
 “ pacto propter redditum temporalium reddendorum ; quum
 “ Mat. x. *Gratis accepistis, gratis date.* Immo videtur
 “ quod Rex et regnum exciderent in curia a Regni ^c do- ^c Sic MS.
 “ mino, si non cum illis patribus resisterent conditioni hu- ^{pro domi-}
 “ jus inhoneste. Si enim in partem ^d pme et penam pec- ^{nio.}
 “ cati Papa Regi nostro injunxit, videtur quod pauperi ^d Sic MS.
 “ Ecclesie Anglie cui Rex injuriatus est in partem restitui-
 “ tionis, et non sibi conferenti absolutionis beneficium,
 “ assignaret elemosinam hujus. Non enim sapit religionem

“ Christi, ^a Absolvam te sub conditione quod in perpetuum
 “ des mihi annuatim tantam pecuniam: Videtur quod fran-
 “ gentis sic fidem Christo licet pactum inhonestum infrin-
 “ gere. Immo videtur rationale quod pena redundans in
 “ peccantem, et non iniquitatem immunem infligi debeat.
 “ Cum ergo redditus talis annualis solummodo non in pe-
 “ nam peccantis Regis redundat, sed vulgi pauperculi et
 “ immunis, videtur quod plus sapit avaritiam quam penam
 “ salutarem. Si tertio modo Papa foret capitalis dominus
 “ Regni ad quem ex pacto Regis Johannis foret Regni Do-
 “ minium devolutum. Quo dato sequitur—quod Papa pos-
 “ set quumcunque voluerit ex ficta forefactura exheredare
 “ Regem Anglie, et suum quem elegerit advocatum prefi-
 “ cere, Non simus ergo, si quei, obstantes istis principiis?
 “ Sextus Dominus. Videtur mihi quod factum Pape, ut
 “ innexit tertius Dominus, in caput proprium retorqueri
 “ potest. Nam si Papa donavit Regi nostro Regnum An-
 “ glie, ut pretendit, verbaliter, et non donavit Dominium
 “ cujus non erat Dominus, quia aliter fuit donatio nimis
 “ sophistica, tunc fuit Dominus regni nostri. Et cum non
 “ liceat alienare bona Ecclesie sine rationabili recompensa,
 “ videtur mihi quod non licuit Pape alienare Regnum tam
 “ fertile pro tam paucio redditu annuali. Per idem enim
 “ posset alienare omnia regna et dominia ^e agacentia Ro-
 “ mane Ecclesie pro redditu nimis stricto, quod foret in-
 “ conveniens apud eos. Et si consentimus suis principiis,
 “ videtur quod potest fingendo fraudem Ecclesie ultra quin-
 “ tam partem valoris regnum nostrum ad votum repetere.
 “ Ideo oportet, ut dixit Quintus Dominus, obstare princi-
 “ piis: Immo cum Christus sit Dominus capitalis et Papa
 “ peccabilis, qui dum fuerit in peccato mortali, secundum
 “ theologos, caret dominio, et per consequens non derivat
 “ Anglicis jus ad regnum; videtur quod sufficit nobis ad

^e adjacen-
 tia.

^a Johannes Rex—totum Regnum suum Angliæ et Hiberniæ Deo et beato Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario catholico Innocentio Papæ III^o, successoribusque catholicis *in remissionem peccatorum suorum totiusque generis sui*, in 1000 marcis, scil. pro Anglia 700, et pro Hibernia 300 constituit censuale.—*Triv. Ann.* p. 158.

“ unum Regni Dominum reservare nos a mortali et com-
 “ municare bona nostra virtuose pauperibus, et sic tenere
 “ regnum nostrum, ut olim, immediate de Christo, cum
 “ sit ipse capitalis Dominus per se sufficientissime quod
 “ licet creature dominium autorizans. Septimus Dominus.
 “ Miror quam plurimum quare non tangitis Regis impru-
 “ dentiam et Jus Regni; ^f qui stat quidem quod improvida ^f Sic MS.
 “ Regis pactio ex peccato suo ingruens, non debet vergere ^{pro quod.}
 “ sine consensu Regni legitime ad perpetuum ejus detri-
 “ mentum. Sed dicitur quod Rex Johannes ex ejus pec-
 “ catis gravibus percussus stultitia, cum, secundum politi-
 “ cos, omnis malus ignorans illegittime sine legali con-
 “ sensu Regni obligavit se Curie, ut notatur; Ideo non est
 “ equum quod Regnum tamdiu portet penaliter onus suum.
 “ Licet enim fingatur obligatio sub sigillo Regis aureo, et
 “ paucis sigillis Dominorum seductorum appositis, quod
 “ Regnum Anglie persolveret perpetuo Curie tantum au-
 “ rum, tamen cum alii domini qui nunquam consenserunt
 “ proportionato tamen ad suum dominium habent inter-
 “ esse, videtur quod non fuit consensus Regni legitimus,
 “ aliter enim injuriaretur illis Dominis defendentibus cum
 “ peccatum tributum ^g ipsi, et sui sine causa contribuent. ^g Sic MS.
 “ Oportet ergo, juxta consuetudinem Regni, ad tale com- ^{pro ipsis.}
 “ mune pedagium quamlibet personam Regni in se vel suo
 “ capitaneo consentire. Non ergo dat carta cum sigillis
 “ quibuslibet appositis fidem ut debeat annuatim dictum
 “ tributum persolvere tantum, quia omnia ista possent a
 “ falsariis privatim fieri: tamen quum licet affuerit Regis
 “ et paucorum seductorum consensus plenarius, defuit ta-
 “ men illis Regni autoritas et consentientium plenitudo.”
 Istis ex prudentia Dominorum suppositis, videtur mihi fa-
 cile respondere ad formam et materiam argumenti. Quoad
 formam, patet quod defuit, cum sit fallacia consequentis:
 Ac si sic argueretur, ex dissolutione conditionis conse-
 quentis ad materiam rei vel alterius rationabilis perditur
 donum conditionaliter devoti; ergo per idem ex dissolu-
 tione conditionis quantumcunque inhoneste. Ideo proba-
 tur nisi Doctor probaverit mihi contra rationes Dominorum

Anglie rationabilitatem illius conditionis exposite, ratio illa non militat contra justitiam Domini Regis nostri, sed, si non fallor, ante diem in quo cessabit omnis exactio non rectificabit quod hec condicio fuerit rationabilis et honesta.

No. 31.

Bibl. Cotton. Cleop.
E. II. fol.
155.

*Epistola Willielmi Cantuariensis super Condemnatione
Heresium Wickleffi in sinodo.*

WILLIELMUS permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas et Apostolice sedis legatus, dilecto in Christo filio fratri Petro Stokys sacre pagine professori ordinis Carmelitarum; *salutem, gratiam et benedictionem*. Ecclesiarum prelati circa gregis Dominici sibi commissi custodiam eo vigilantius intendere debent quo lupos ovium vestimentis indutos ad rapiendum et dispergendum oves noverint fraudulentius circuire. Sane frequenti clamore et ^a devulgata fama, quod dolentes referimus, ad nostrum pervenit auditum quod licet secundum Canonicas sanctiones nemo prohibitus vel non missus absque sedis Apostolice vel Episcopi loci autoritate sibi predicationis officium usurpare debeat publice vel privatim; quidam tamen cum eterne dampnationis filii insaniam mentis producti sub magne sanctitatis velamine virtutem ejus abnegantes, auctoritatem sibi vendicant predicandi ac nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones infra scriptas hereticas erroneas atque falsas olim ab ecclesia condemnatas, et determinationibus ecclesie repugnantes que statum totius Ecclesie et tranquillitatem Regni subvertere et enervare minantur, tam in Ecclesiis quam plateis et aliis locis prophanis infra nostram Cantuariensem provinciam non verentur asserere, dogmatizare, et publice predicare, illis nonnullos Christi fideles inficientes, et a fide Catholica, sine qua nulla est salus, facientes flebiliter deviare. Nos itaque attendentes quod tam perniciosum malum quod in plurimos serpere poterit eorum animas letali contagione necando, non debeamus, sicut nec debemus, sub dissimula-

* Sic MS.

tione transire ^b nec sanguis eorum de nostris manibus re- ^b Sic MS.
 quiratur, sed id quantum nobis ex alto permittitur extir- ^{pro ne.}
 pari volentes de quam plurimorum fratrum et suffraganeo-
 rum nostrorum consilio et assensu, convocavimus plures
 sacre Theologie Doctores ac Juris canonici et civilis pro-
 fessores, et alios clericos quos famociosiores et peritiores de
 Regno credimus, ut super dictis questionibus vota sua di-
 cerent et sentire. Verum quod premissis conclusionibus et
 assertionibus in nostra et eorundem confratrum et docto-
 rum convocatorum presentia patenter expositis et diligen-
 ter examinatis finaliter est compertum nostro quod et
 eorum omnium communicato consilio declaratum quasdam
 questionum illarum hereticas esse, quasdam vero erroneas
 atque determinationibus ecclesie repugnantes sic inferius
^c disterbuntur. Vobis committimus et mandamus in virtute ^c Sic MS.
 obediencie firmiter injungentes, quatenus publice ^d moveatis ^{pro distri-}
 et inhibeatis prout nos presentium tenore ^e movemus pro ^{buuntur.}
 2^o et 3^o ac districtius inhibemus pro prima monicione ^d Sic MS.
 unum diem pro secunda alium diem et pro tertia monicione ^{for. pro mo-}
 canonica et peremptoria unum alium diem assignando, ne ^{neatis.}
 quis de cetero cujuscunque status aut conditionis existat,
 hereses seu errores predictos vel eorum aliquem teneat, do-
 ceat predicet seu defendat in Universitate Oxon. in scolis
 vel extra, publice vel occulte, aut hereses seu errores hujus
 vel earum aliquem predicantem audiat vel auscultet, seu ei
 faveat vel adhereat publice vel occulte, sed statim tanquam
^f specimen venenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et evitet ^f for. ser-
 sub pena excommunicationis majoris quam in omnes et sin- ^{pentem.}
 gulos in hac parte rebelles et nostris monicionibus non pa-
 rentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monicione canonica
 assignatis, mora, culpa et offensa suis precedentibus, et id
 fieri merito exigentibus, ex nunc prout ex tunc ferimus in
 hiis scriptis.

*Conclusiones heretice et contra Determinationem Ecclesie
 de quibus supra fit mentio in hec verba sequuntur.*

1. Quod substantia panis materialis et vini maneat
 post consecrationem in sacramento altaris.

2. *Item*, Quod non maneant sine subjecto in eodem sacramento post consecrationem.

3. *Item*, Quod Christus non sit sacramento altaris idemptice vere et realiter in propria persona corporali.

4. *Item*, Quod si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali, non ordinat, consecrat nec baptizat.

5. *Item*, Quod si homo fuerit debite conditiones, omnis confessio exterior est sibi superflua et invalida.

6. *Item*, Pertinaciter asserere non esse fundatum in evangelio quod Christus missam ordinavit.

7. *Item*, Quod Deus debet obedire Diabolo.

8. *Item*, Quod si Papa sit prescitus et malus homo, ac per consequens membrum Diaboli, non habet potestatem supra fideles Christi ab aliquo sibi datam, nisi forte a Cesare.

9. *Item*, Quod post Urbanum sextum non est alius recipiendus in Papam, sed vivendum est more Grecorum sub legibus propriis.

10. *Item*, Asserere quod est contra sacram scripturam quod viri ecclesiastici habeant possessiones temporales.

Conclusiones erronee et contra Determinacionem Ecclesie de quibus superius memoratur in hec verba sequentia.

1. Quod nullus Prelatus dicet aliquem excommunicari nisi prius sciat ipsum esse excommunicatum a Deo.

2. *Item*, Quod sic excommunicans ex hoc sit hereticus vel excommunicatus.

3. *Item*, Quod prelatus excommunicans Clericum qui appellavit ad Regem et consilium Regni eo ipso traditor est Regis et Regni.

4. *Item*, Quod illi qui dimittunt predicare seu audire verbum Dei vel evangelium predicatum *propter* excommunicationem hujusmodi sunt excommunicati, et in die judicii traditores Dei habebuntur.

5. *Item*, Asserere quod nullus est Dominus civilis, nullus est episcopus, nullus est Prelatus dum est in peccato mortali.

6. *Item*, Quod Domini temporales possint, ad arbitrium,

eorum auferre bona temporalia ab ecclesiasticis habitualiter delinquentibus, vel quod populares possint, ad eorum arbitrium Dominos delinquentes corrigere.

7. *Item*, Quod decime sunt pure eleemosine, et quod parochiani possint, propter peccata suorum curatorum, eas detinere, et ad libitum, aliis conferre.

8. *Item*, Quod speciales orationes applicate uni persone per prelatos vel religiosos non plus prosunt eidem persone quam orationes generales, ceteris paribus, eidem.

9. *Item*, Quod eo ipso quod aliquis ingreditur religionem privatam quantumcunque redditur ineptior et inhabilior ad observantiam mandatorum Dei.

10. *Item*, Quod sancti instituentes religiones privatas quascunque tam possessionatorum quam mendicantium in sic instituendo peccaverunt.

11. *Item*, Religiosi viventes in Religionibus privatis non sunt de Religione Christiana.

12. *Item*, Quod fratres teneantur per laborem manuum et non per mendicationem victum suum acquirere.

13. *Item*, Quod conferens eleemosinam fratribus vel fratri predicanti est excommunicatus, et recipiens.

In quorum omnium Testimonium sigillum nostrum privatum duximus apponendum. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Otteford 28^o die Mensis Maii Anno Domini 1382 et nostre translacionis anno primo.

No. 33.

Litera quam misit Archiepiscopus [Willielmus Courtney] Cancellario Oxon. ut assisteret Fratri Petro Stokys in Publicatione ejusdem Commissionis sub hac Forma. MS. in Hyperoop Bodl. 163. fol. 67. b.

IN Christo fili, Miramur non modicum et turbamur quod cum ille Magister Nicholaus Herforde super prædicationibus et doctrina hereticarum et erronearum ^a concionum ^a Sic MS. notorie reddatur suspectus, sicut nos vobis alias retulisse ^{pro conclusionum.}

^b Sic MS.
^c Sic MS.
 for. pro an-
 ni.

^d Sic MS.
 pro nostris
 et promise-
 runt.

^e Sic MS.
 pro disca-
 mini.

^f Sic MS.
 pro conclu-
 siones.

meminimus, extunc vos sibi adeo ^b favorabilem exhibuistis ut excellenciozem et digniorem ^c animi sermonem in Universitate vestra vobis et Cancellario qui pro tempore fuerit deputatum, ut nostris, assignaretis eidem Nicolao absque difficultate qualibet inibi prædicandum. Vobis ergo consulimus et hortamur in visceribus Jesu Christi quod talibus nullum de cetero præsumatis impartiri favorem, ne ipsorum secta et numero unus esse videamini, et exinde contra vos officii vestri debitum nos oporteat exercere. Quia adversus hujusmodi præsumptorum audaciam Dominus noster Rex et proceres regni in processu nostri subsidium nobis et suffraganeis ^d vestris sic ^d permiserunt assistere, quod per *Dei* gratiam diucius non regnabunt. Et ut talium præsumptorum consortia et opiniones erroneas abhorrere ^e dicamini dilecto filio meo fratri Petro Stokys sacræ paginæ professori ordinis Carmelitarum in publicatione literarum nostrarum, sibi contra ^f conciones hujusmodi directarum pro defensione catholicæ fidei viriliter adhærere curetis, et literas illas in scholis theologicis Universitatis prædictæ per Bedellum illius facultatis in proxima lectura inibi facienda absque diminutione quacunque faciatis effectualiter publicari, nobis illico rescribentes quid feceritis in hac parte. Scriptum in manerio nostro de Otteforde penultimo die Maii. Semper in Christo valete.

No. 34.

Ibid. fol. 70. *Mandatum Cancellario Oxon. eodem anno die 8^o Corporis*

^a.

^a Sic MS.
 pro conclu-
 siones.

Christi in Domo prædicatorum London. cum alio Mandato publicandi ^a conciones damnatas in Ecclesia beatæ Virginis in Anglico et Latino et similiter per Scholas. Et insuper inquirendi per omnes Aulas de Fautoribus earundem, et compellendi eos ad Purgationem publicam.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Cum nos Willielmus permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis legatus de consensu suffraganeorum nostrorum nonnullos clericos seculares et regulares univer-

sitatis studii generalis Oxon. nostræ provinciæ Cantuarien. ac alios sanctius in fide catholica sentientes ad informandum nos de et super quibusdam conclusionibus hereticis et erroneis in variis locis nostræ provinciæ Cantuarien. in subversionem totius Ecclesiæ et dictæ nostræ provinciæ generaliter et communiter prædicatis, ac etiam publicatis fecerimus convocari; habitaque super hiis deliberatione plenaria de nostro et dictorum suffraganeorum et convocatorum eorum communicato concilio deliberatum fuit quasdam conclusionum ipsarum hereticas esse, quasdam vero erroneas et determinationibus Ecclesiæ notorie repugnantes, et ab Ecclesia damnatas fuisse et esse: quas etiam ex habundanti sic damnatas esse declaramus: ac intelleximus ex fidedignorum testimonio ac experientia facti quod tu magister Robertus Rygge Cancellarius universitatis prædictæ præmissis conclusionibus sic dampnatis aliququaliter inclinasti et etiam inclinas, quem in hac parte suspectum habemus, intendi hujusmodi clericos sic convocatos, et alios nobis in ea parte adherentes vel faventes sicut ipsos sic favere et adherere oportuit, eo pretextu per dolosas ymaginationes tuas multipliciter de facto gravare: Te magistrum Robertum Cancellarium prædictum monemus 1º, 2º et 3º ac peremptorie, quod præfatos clericos seculares vel regulares, ac eis in præmissis faventes in actibus scholasticis, seu alios qualitercunque ea occasione non graves, impendas vel molestes judicialiter vel extrajudicialiter, publice vel occulte seu gravari, impediri vel molestari facias aut procures directe vel indirecte, per te vel per alium, vel quantum in te est permittas ipsos sic gravari; quodque nullum permittas de cetero in Universitate prædicta hereses aut errores prædictos, aut eorum aliquem tenere, docere, prædicare vel defendere in scolis aut extra, nec etiam Johannem Wyccliff, Nicolaum Herforde, Philippum Repyngdon canonicum regularem, Johannem Aston, aut Laurentium Redman qui de heresibus notorie sunt suspecti, vel quemcunque alium sic suspectum vel diffamatum ad prædicandum admittas, sed eos ab omni actu scholastico, donec suam in hac parte purgaverint innocentiam coram nobis,

suspendas, sub poena excommunicationis majoris quam in personam tuam, si monitionibus nostris hiis non parueris cum effectum, culpa, dolo, seu offensa tuis in hac parte exigentibus, dicta monitione præmissa quam in hac parte canonicam reputamus, exnunc prout ex tunc, et ex tunc prout ex nunc ferimus in hiis Scriptis: Absolutionem hujus summæ excommunicationis siquam te contigerit incur-rere, quod absit, nobis specialiter reservantes, &c.

“ Et tunc aliud mandatum sibi dedit ad publicandum
 “ Conclusiones damnatas in Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis in
 “ Anglico et Latino, et similiter per scholas et insuper inqui-
 “ rendi per omnes aulas de fautoribus earundem et com-
 “ pellendi eos ad purgationem sive abjurationem. Et con-
 “ venit cum Commissionem prius Scriptam Fratri Petro Sto-
 “ kys. Et tunc dixit [Cancellarius] quod *non fuit ausus*
 “ *metu mortis eas publicare.* Et tunc inquit Archiepisco-
 “ pus, *Ergo Universitas est faulrix heresium quæ non*
 “ *permittit veritates catholicas publicari.* Et in crastino
 “ habuit [Cancellarius] in Consilio Domini Regis quod ipse
 “ exequeretur omne præceptum Archiepiscopi per Cancel-
 “ larium regni. Et venit Oxon. et in Dominica sequenti
 “ publicavit suum mandatum, et sic tunc excitavit secu-
 “ lares contra Religiosos quod timebant plures mortem,
 “ clamando quod ipsi vellent destruere Universitatem, cum
 “ tamen Religiosi solum defendebant partem Ecclesiæ.

“ Post autem, non obstantibus illis præceptis, suspendi-
 “ tur Henricus Crumpe Magister in Theologia ab actibus
 “ suis publice in Ecclesia beatæ Virginis, et imponunt sibi
 “ perturbationem pacis quia vocavit hereticos Lollardos.
 “ Et tunc venit London deponens querelam domino Can-
 “ cellario Regni, Domino Archiepiscopo, et Concilio Regis.
 “ Unde per breve regium mittitur pro eo ut compareret
 “ cum suis procuratoribus, [Gualterus Dash et Johannes
 “ Huntman] et comparuit ubi data sunt sibi hæc præcepta
 “ et digesta sunt in Literas patentes.”

*In Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra E. II. sunt allegata et pro-
 bata contra Cancellar. et Procuratores quæ tunc temporis
 producta sunt ab Archiepiscopo. in 8 foliis.*

No. 35.

Breve Regium Cancellario Oxon. et Procuratoribus.

RICHARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hybernæ, Cancellario et Procuratoribus Universitatis Oxon. qui nunc sunt vel qui pro tempore fuerint, salutem. Zelo fidei Christianæ, cujus sumus et semper esse volumus defensores, moti salubriter et inducti, volentes summo desiderio impugnatores dictæ fidei qui suas pravas et perversas doctrinas infra regnum nostrum Angliæ seminare, et damnatas conclusiones eidem fidei notorie obviantes tenere et prædicare jam noviter pessime præsumpserunt, et conantur in perversionem populi nostri, ut accepimus; antequam ulterius in suis procedant erroribus et maliciis, vel alios inficiant reprimere et condigna castigatione coercere, assignamus vos ad inquisitionem generalem, assistentibus vobis omnibus theologis Universitatis prædictæ regentibus, faciendam ab omnibus et singulis graduatis theologis et juristis Universitatis ejusdem, si quos de jurisdictione Universitatis illius agnoverint qui sunt eis probabiliter suspecti de favore, credencia vel defensione alicujus heresis vel erroris, et maxime quarundam conclusionum per venerabilem Patrem Willielmum Archiepiscopum Cantuar. de consilio sui Cleri publice damnatarum, vel etiam alicujus conclusionis alicui earundem consimilis in sententia vel in verbis. Et si aliquos de cetero inveneritis qui quicquam prædictorum hæresium vel errorum, vel quemcunque consimilem crediderint, foverint vel defenderint; vel qui magistros Johannem Wyccliff, Nicholaum Herforde, Philippum Repyngdonn, Johannem Astonn seu aliquem alium de aliquo prædictorum heresium vel errorum, seu alio simili in verbis vel in sententia probabili suspitione notatum in domos et hospitia ausi fuerint acceptare, vel cum eorum aliquo communicare, vel sibi defensionem aut favorem præbere præsumpserint aliqualem ad hujus-

modi fautores, receptatores, communicantes et defensores, infra septem dies postquam præmissa vobis constiterint ab Universitate et Villa Oxon. banniendum et expellendum donec coram Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi pro tempore existente suam innocentiam manifesta purgatione monstraverint: Ita tamen ut se purgare cogantur ipsos tales esse nobis et eidem Archiepiscopo de tempore in tempus infra mensem sub sigillis vestris certificetis. Mandantes insuper quod per universas Aulas Universitatis prædictæ diligenter inquiri et scrutari faciatis indilate, si quis aliquem librum, sive tractatum de editione vel compilatione prædictorum Magistrorum Johannis Wyccliff vel Nicolai habuerint, et quod librum illum sive tractatum ubicunque contigerit inveniri, arrestari, capi, et præfato Archiepiscopo infra mensem absque correctione, corruptione, sive mutatione quacunque quoad ejus sententiam vel verba presentari faciatis. Et ideo vobis in fide et ligeancia quibus nobis tenemini, et sub forisfactura omnium et singulorum libertatum et privilegiorum Universitatis prædictæ et omnium aliorum quæ nobis forisfacere poteritis, injungimus. Et mandamus quod circa præmissa bene et fideliter exequenda diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exsequamini in forma prædicta, et quod præfato Archiepiscopo et ejus mandatis licitis et honestis vobis in hac parte dirigendis pareatis prout decet. Damus autem Vicecomiti et Majori Oxon. pro tempore existentibus, ac universis et singulis aliis Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, Ballivis, Ministris et aliis fidelibus subditis nostris, tenore præsentium, in mandatis quod vobis in exsequutione præmissorum auxilientur, pareant et intendant. Teste meipso apud Westmon. 13^o die

A. D. 1382. mensis Julii, anno Regni nostri sexto.

No. 36.

Aliud Breve Regium Cancellario Oxon. et Procuratoribus.

RICARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ Dominus Hiberniæ, Cancellario et Procuratoribus Universitatis Oxon. salutem. Cum nuper facta per fratrem Henricum Crumpe Monachum regentem in sacra theologia in Universitate prædicta gravi querimonia qualiter coassistente ipso venerabili Patri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et aliis Magistris in theologia in civitate London. in condemnatione diversarum conclusionum erronearum et hereticarum vos ad suggestionem quorundam sibi adversantium, pretendenti-umque pacem Universitatis prædictæ per ipsum Henricum in ultima lectura sua in scholis facta violatam fuisse, eundem fratrem Henricum ad respondendum ^a mihi coram • Sic MS. vobis evocatum pro eo quod coram vobis non comparuit, sicuti non potuit, pronunciastis contumacem, et de pacis perturbatione convictum, per quod ipsum Henricum ab actibus scolasticis et lectura suspendistis: Dedimus vobis diem jam elapsam per Breve nostrum essendi coram concilio nostro apud Westmonasterium et ad respondendum super præmissis et ad quædam alia inde facienda quæ in Brevi prædicto expressius continentur, super quo materia prædicta et suis circumstantiis coram dicto concilio nostro, præsentibus vobis, examinatis, rimatis et plenarie intellectis per idem concilium nostrum, decretum et specialiter diffinitum extitit totum processum versus prefatum Henricum occasionibus præmissis habitum atque factum cum omni eo quod exinde est secutum, esse nullum, invalidum, irritum, et inanem; ipsumque Henricum ad actus scolasticos et consuetam lecturam, et statum pristinum restituendum et pariter admittendum, prout vobis ad plenum constat. Volentes igitur decretum et diffinitionem prædicta debite fore exsequuta, et obtinere firmitatem, vobis districtius quo possumus præcipimus et mandamus quod omnem processum versus ipsum fratrem Henricum Crumpe in

^b Sic MS.
pro præmit-
titur.

Universitate prædicta, ut ^b permittitur, habitum sive factum, et quicquid exinde fuerit obsecutum celeriter et penitus revocantes, eundem fratrem Henricum ad actus scolasticos, consuetam lecturam, et statum pristinum admittatis et restitui faciatis indilate juxta formam Decreti et Diffinitionis prædictorum. Injungentes insuper vobis ac vestris Commissariis sive Deputatis successoribusque vestris, et quibuscunque magistris regentibus et non regentibus ac aliis præsidentibus officiariis ministris secularibus Universitatis prædictæ in fide et ligeancia quibus nobis tenemini quod ipsum fratrem Henricum ex causis prædictis, aut fratrem Petrum Stokys Carmelitam occasione absentiae suæ ab Universitate prædicta, aut fratrem Stephanum Patryngtone Carmelitam, vel aliquem alium religiosum aut secularem eis faventem occasione alicujus dicti vel facti doctrinam Magistrorum Johannis Wyccliff, Nicolai Herforde, Philippi Repyngdonn seu reprobationem et condemnationem prædictorum heresium et errorum aut corruptionem vel correctionem fautorum suorum qualitercunque concernentes, non impediatis, molestetis seu gravetis, aut impediri, molestari, seu gravari clam vel palam ullo

^c Sic MS.

modo permittatis; sed ea ^c totius quæ pacis sunt, unitatis, et quietis in Universitate prædicta, et maxime inter religiosos et seculares procuretis et cum omni diligentia foveatis ac totis viribus præservetis. Et hæc sub forisfactura omnium et singularium libertatum et privilegiorum Universitatis prædictæ, et omnium aliorum quæ nobis forisfacere poteritis nullatenus omittatis. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso

A. D. 1382. apud Westmon. 24^o die mensis Julii, anno Regni nostri sexto.

No. 37.

Breve Regium Cancellario et Doctoribus Oxon.

FAMA celebri^a divulgantur nostris auribus jam noviter^a Sic MS. est intimatum quod quamplures opiniones nefarie et allegationes detestabiles in quodam libro ex compilatione Joh. Wicklef Trialogus vulgariter nuncupato, hereses et errores notorie includentes, sacris determinacionibus et canonicis sanctionibus sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, et maxime consecrationi sacramentali multipliciter repugnantes continentur et conscribuntur. Ex quorum publicatione et vesana doctrina populus Christianus qui ex allectione et instigatione latentis inimici pronior est ad malum quam ad bonum, et presertim his diebus (quod absit) infici potest, et per consequens damnabiliter labi et decidere in errores, unde non modicum esse dolendum. Nos zelo fidei Catholicæ (cujus sumus et erimus, Deo dante, defensores) salubriter commoti, nolentesque hujusmodi hereses aut errores infra terminos nostræ potestatis quatenus poterimus sustinere, immo pro eis penitus resecand. et delend. brachium seculare apponere cupientes: Vobis in fide et ligeantia quibus nobis tenemini, et sub forisfactura omnium quæ nobis forisfacere potestis injungimus et mandamus quatenus omnes et singulos Doctores Theologiæ ejusdem Universitatis regentes et non regentes ad certos dies eis per vos ex parte nostra perfigend. et statuend. convocari, et librum illum in presentia vestra et eorundem Doctorum presentari, perlegi et examinari, nec non quoscunque hereses et errores quos in libro predicto per vos et eosdem Doctores reprobari contigerit, in scriptis redigi et intitulari faciatis; et nobis de omnibus et singulis quæ in præmissis senseritis seu inveneritis una cum singulis affectationibus et opinionibus Doctorum Prædictorum in Cancellariam nostram sub sigillo vestro distincte et aperte sine dilatione reddatis plenius certiores ut hiis inspectis et mature ponderatis ulterius de avisamento Consilii nostri ordinare valeamus

prout pro fulcimento fidei Catholicæ et defensione regni nostri fore viderimus salubrius faciendum. Teste meipso
A. D. 1396. apud Ledes 18^o die Julii regni nostri anno 19^o.

No. 38.

Bibl. Cotton. Cleop.
E. II. fol.
151.

Epistola 12. Judicium Universitatis Oxoniensis ad Synodum Cleri Cantuariensis in Sancto Paulo super libris Joannis Wiclyf.

A. D. 1396. **REVERENDISSIMO** in Christo Patri ac Domino Domino suo spirituali Domino Thome Dei gratia Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, totius Anglie Primate, et Apostolice sedis legato, aliisque venerabilibus Patribus et Prelatis provincie Cantuariensis, Universitas studii generalis Oxon. reverentias et honores debitos et devotos tam venerando cetui Prelatorum, et ad defensionem percelebrem Catholice fidei firmiter et feliciter adunari. Prestantissime Pater et Domine, ab exordio nascentis Ecclesie Dei vinee sabaoth quam celestis agricola Christus Dei filius, suique successores Apostoli in sacro suo sanguine plantaverunt. Heretici qui sub specie pietatis, virtutis et gratie, spiritu presumptionis inflati matrem suam Ecclesiam Dei sponsam suffodere satagebant. Tales enim doctores doctissimos in honore precellere contendentes metaphorica scripturarum eloquia insanis suis sensibus pertinaciter attrahere cupiunt, innitentes, ut plurimum, sensui literali. Et sic, postpositis, imo spretis, mysticis sanctorum Patrum dogmatibus, tanquam filii degeneres et perversa viperarum genimina materna sua viscera degenerando corrodunt, concutiunt, et erumpunt. Tales enim cum in suis astutis ingeniis plene superare non valeant temporale seculare brachium callide provocant, et pronis adcredendum illicita que delectat contra statum et Prelatos Ecclesie vetita quasi licita predicant, ut, sublati aut concussis hostiliter fidei Christiane columpnis, suos errores et hereses facilius introducant. Legimus de Arrio heresiarcha, ut de ceteris taceamus quod

^a ipsi suadente consilio omnes Prelati Catholici regiminis ^a Sic MS. in exilium missi sunt, vix tribus exceptis qui divino providente consilio Arriane perversitatis erroribus viriliter obviaverunt. Unde et de eo testatur Hieronymus; Arrius in Alexandria modica scintilla fuit, quia statim extinctus non fuerat, totum fere terrarum orbem ipsius flamma consumpsit. Sed, pretermisiss extraneis qui faciliter numerari non possunt, ut vicinius accedamus ad proprias, Doctor quidam novellus dictus Johannes Wiclyf, non electus sed infectus agricola vitis Christi jam infra paucos annos pulcherimum agrum vestrum Cantuariensis provincie tot variis seminavit zizaniis, totque pestiferis plantavit erroribus, tot denique sue secte procreavit heredes, quod, sicut probabiliter credimus, usque mordacibus sarculis et censuris asperrimis explantari vix poterunt aut evelli. Ad quantum enim hec secta novella ^b vobiscum jam nuper ^b for. nobiscum. invaluit a vestra, sicut credimus, paternali memoria non recessit. Nos tamen ista mala cura vigili ponderantes, vestre prudentissime Paternitatis auctoritate suffulti vestrisque salutaribus et votivis suadelis et monitis pro viribus obsequentes per duodecim electissimos viros Magistros et Doctores multos libros et libellos, aliosque tractatus et opuscula multa prelibati Johannis longa deliberatione prospeximus, et multas Conclusiones in eis et que nobis videntur signavimus, signatas excerptimus, excerptas morose digessimus, et digestas censuimus sacre doctrine contrarias et per consequens reas igne. Sed cum apud plurimos nostra satis parva sentiatur auctoritas easdem Conclusiones simul et in unum redactas ^c vestro paternitatis inclite vestrorumque confratrum maturiori examini denuo recensendas offerimus, ut per vos, si placeat, ulterius beatissimo Patri nostro summo Pontifici has iterum cupimus intimari. Scriptum est enim quod funis triplex de difficili rumpitur, si forte commissa nobis auctoritas pro funiculo computetur. Alias autem Conclusiones erroneas non paucas, imo fere totidem quot sequuntur de libello prefati Johannis extraximus quas cum non sint ejusdem aut multum cognate sententie cum his scriptis illas tanquam superfluas decre-

vimus hic omitti. Est enim tam auditori quam lectori fastidium et opus inutile eandem sepe sententiam pueriliter inculcare: Et preterea multas alias Conclusiones in procedendo collegimus in sterili pugna verborum sustinere sophisticæ, illas ideo pepercimus extreme condemnationis sententia fulminari. Rationes autem et causas damnationis Conclusionum sequentium in presentiarum omisimus, eo quod ipsarum falsitatem hiis ^d que sane sapiunt cum antiquis Doctoribus planam esse convicimus, nec vexare vos duximus pro insanis et nihilominus cum plurime sint et longe ipsarum improbatio prolixior fastidium forte gigneret inspectori.

* Sic pro
qui.

*Nomina XII. Judicium Oxoniensium Congregationis in
superiori Epistola præactorum.*

Doctores in Theologia.

1. Magister Willielmus Ufford, regens in claustro Carmelitarum.
2. Magister Thomas Claxton, regens in claustro ^a Predicatorum.
3. Magister Joannes Wytenham, de Novo Collegio.
4. Magister Joannes Langedon, Monachus Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis, ^b et post Episcopus Roffensis.

^a Domini-
canorum.

^b jamque e
Collegio
Cantuar.
Oxon.

Baccalaurei in Theologia.

1. [Magister Robertus ^c Gilberd. ^d Gylbert e Domo vel Collegio Mertonensi, posthæc Episcopus Londinensis.
2. Magister Johannes ^e Luk. ^e Lucke de eodem Collegio.
3. Magister Ricardus Cartisdale.
4. Magister Ricardus ^f Suedisham. ^f Snedisham.

^c Sic Antiq.
Oxonien.
^d Sic ibid.
^e Sic ibid.

^f Sic ibid.

§ Studentes in Theologia. § Scholares.

^g Sic ibid.

1. Magister Ricardus Flemyng, post Episcopus Lincolnensis.
2. Magister Thomas Rodbourne, ^h post Episcopus Menevensis. ^h e Collegio Mertonensi.

^h Sic ibid.

3. Magister Robertus ⁱ Rowdbery. ⁱ Ronbury. ⁱ Sic ibid.

4. Magister Ricardus Grasdale.

Repertæ sunt Conclusiones Censuris dignæ in Operibus Ex Historia
et Antiq.
Oxon. p.
236. c. ii.
quorum Tituli sequuntur.

1. Sermo Dei in monte, quodque libros quatuor com-
plectebatur, 85 Conclus.

2. De Simonia, 24.

3. De Perfectione Statuum, 9.

4. De Ordine Christiano, 33.

5. Trialogus, *tribus libris absolutus*, 20.

6. Dialogus, 15.

7. De Arte sophistica, *in tertio autem ejus argumenti*
tractu, 20.

8. De Dominio Civili, *in tres libros diviso*, 44.

9. De Diabolo et membris suis, 5.

10. De Dotatione Cæsarea, 14.

11. Responsio ad argumenta Monachi de Salley, 11.

12. Responsio ad argumenta Strode, 9.

13. De Confessione, 5.

14. De versutiis Pseudocleri, 4.

Summa totalis 298.

The author of the Antiquities of Oxford makes the number of these Conclusions to be but 267, and Bishop Bale reckons them 266. But as they stand in the Fasciculus Rerum, vol. i. p. 266, 267, &c. they are 301.

In the year 1410, sixty-one Conclusions of Dr. John Wiclif were condemned at Oxford, in a full Convocation of Regent and Non-Regent Masters, on the feasts of St. John and St. Paul. Which Conclusions are said to have been taken out of the following books:

1. De Sermone Domini in monte, *continens libros 4 par-*
tiales.

2. Liber Trialogorum *in libros 4 divisus*.

3. Liber Dialogorum.

4. De Symonia.
5. De Gradibus Ecclesiæ.
6. De Perfectione Statuum.
7. De Ordine Christiano.
8. De Arte sophistica.

And two small tracts which the scholars are prohibited to read.

No. 39.

Collatio Articulorum XVIII damnatorum ab Ar. Arundel, 1396. cum Trialogo Wiclefi.

Articuli Joannis Wiclef Trialogus, lib. iv. c. 4.
damnati ab Archi. Thoma Arundel et sumpti ex Trialogo Wiclefi.

1. **QUOD** manet Panis substantia post ejus consecrationem in altari, et non desinit esse panis.

2. Sicut Joannes fuit figurative Elias, et non personaliter : sic panis est figurative Corpus Christi, et non naturaliter Corpus Christi. Et quod absque omni ambiguitate est figurativa locutio, Hoc est Corpus meum, sicut illa in verbis Christi, Joannes ipse est Elias.

1. **OPORTET** credere quod iste panis, virtute verborum sacramentalium, fit consecratione sacerdotis primi veraciter Corpus Christi, et non potius desinit esse panis quam humanitas.

2. Nunquid credimus quod Baptista ex hoc quod sit factus Helias virtute verborum Christi Mat. xi. desiit esse Johannes vel aliquid quod substantialiter ante fuerit? Conformiter non oportet quod licet panis incipiat esse Corpus Christi virtute verborum suorum, quod desinat esse panis, cum panis fuit substantialiter, ex hoc quod incipit esse sacramentaliter

3. Quod sacramentum eucharistiæ est naturaliter verus panis, loquendo conformiter, ut prius de pane materiali albo et rotundo, quem in cap. *Ego Berengarius*, Curia Romana determinavit.

4. Quod definientes parvulos fidelium sine baptismo sacramentali decedentes non fore salvandos, sunt in hoc præsumptuosi et stolidi.

Corpus Christi. Sic enim Christus dicit, Hoc est corpus meum: virtute quorum verborum oportet illud concedere sicut in Evangelio Mat. xi. de Baptista asseritur, *si vultis scire ipse est Helias*. Et propter laborem in æquivocis, Christus non contradicit Baptistæ Johan. i. cum ipse asserit, *non sum Helias*. Unus enim intelligit quod est Helias figuraliter, et alius quod non est Helias personaliter. Et conformiter; non contradicunt sed æquivocant qui concedunt quod hoc sacramentum non est (supple naturaliter) Corpus Christi, et idem sacramentum est figuraliter Corpus Christi.

3. Hoc sacramentum est naturaliter verus panis—Ipsa Curia Romana ante solutionem Diaboli cum antiqua sententia prædicta planius concordavit, ut patet de con. dis. 2. c. *Ego Berengarius*. Trial. lib. iv. c. 2.

4. Modicum valent signa nostra nisi de quanto illa Deus acceptaverit gratiose. Et per hæc respondeo ad objectum tuum tertio, concedendo quod Deus, si voluerit, potest damnare infantem talem [non baptisa-

5. Quod collatio sacramenti Confirmationis non est Episcopis reservata.

6. Quod tempore Pauli sufficebant ecclesiæ duo ordines clericorum, Sacerdos et Diaconus. Nec fuit tempore Apostolorum distinctio Papæ, Patriarcharum, Archiepiscoporum; sed quod sufficit quod sint Presbyteri et Diaconi secundum fidem Scripturæ, quia superbia Cæ-

tum] sine injuria sibi facta, et si voluerit potest ipsum salvare. Nec audeo partem alteram diffinire, nec laboro circa reputationem vel evidentiam in ista materia acquirendam, sed ut mutus sub ticeo, confitens humiliter meam ignorantiam verbis conditionalibus usitando, quod non claret mihi adhuc si talis infans a Deo salvabitur sive damnabitur. Sed scio quod quicquid in isto Deus fecerit, erit justum, et opus misericordiæ a cunctis fidelibus collaudandum. Illi autem qui ex auctoritate sua, sive scientia, in ista materia quicquam diffiniunt, tanquam præsumptuosi et stolidi non se fundant. Lib. iv. cap. 12.

5. Non video quod hoc sacramentum [Confirmationis] sit specialiter Episcopis cæsariis reservatum. Lib. iv. cap. 14.

6. Unum audacter assero, quod in primitiva ecclesia, vel tempore Pauli suffecerunt duo Ordines clericorum, scilicet Sacerdos atque Diaconus, similiter dico, quod tempore Pauli fuit idem Presbyter atque Episcopus. — Tunc enim adinventum non fuit distinctio Papæ et

sarea alios gradus adinvenit.

Cardinalium, Patriarcharum, et Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum et Archidiaconorum, Officialium et Decanorum cum cæteris officiariis, et privatis religionibus quorum non est numerus neque ordo.—Ex fide Scripturæ videtur mihi sufficere esse Presbyteros atque Diaconos servantes statum atque officium quod eis Christus imposuit, quia certum videtur quod superbia Cæsarea hos gradus et ordines adinvenit. Lib. iv. cap. 15.

7. Quod antiqui qui ex cupiditate rerum temporalium, ex spe mutuorum juvenum, aut ex causa excusandæ libidinis, licet de prole desperent, copulantur adinvicem, non vere matrimonialiter copulantur.

7. Videtur mihi probabile quod tales qui non possunt procreare carnaliter quodammodo illicite copulantur. Unde antiqui qui ex cupiditate temporalium, ex spe mutuorum juvenum, aut ex causa excusandæ libidinis, licet desperent de prole, copulantur ad invicem non vere matrimonialiter copulantur, et sic juvenes in ætate. Cap. 20.

8. Quod causæ divortii ratione consanguinitatis vel affinitatis, sint infundabiliter humanitus ordinatæ.

8. Nec delector in multitudine caussarum divortii, cum multæ sunt infundabiliter humanitus ordinatæ; ut patet specialiter de Cognatione. Ibid.

9. Quod hæc verba, *Accipiam te in uxorem*, eligibilia sint pro contractu ma-

9. Similiter hæc convertunt, ut hic supponimus, *Te accipio in uxorem* et *Te ac-*

trimonii quam hæc verba, *Accipio te in uxorem*. Et quod contrahendo cum illa per hæc verba de futuro, *Accipiam te in uxorem*, et post cum alia per hæc verba de præsentī, *Accipio te in uxorem*, non debent frustrari verba propter verba secundaria de præsentī.

10. Quod isti duodecim sint procuratores Antichristi, Papa, Cardinales, Patriarchæ, Archiepiscopi, Præsules, Episcopi, Archidiaconi, Officiales et Decani, Monachi et Canonici bifurcati, pseudofratres introducti jam ultimo, et Quæstores.

Accipiam in uxorem. Cum ergo secundum sit certius, et minus imbrigabile, videtur quod sit eligibilius ad homines matrimonialiter copulandum.—Cum ergo cum verbis *de futuro* sit consensus compossibilis, et verba illa sunt vera, atque in Domino ordinata, quomodo licet verba illa frustrare per verba sequentia *de præsentī* quæ non sunt tantæ efficacitæ. Lib. iv. cap. 22.

10. Supremi et ultimi [ministri ecclesiæ] sunt sacerdotes Christi recte ejus Evangelium prædicantes. Et ista pars debet esse quasi anima corpori matris nostræ. In istis autem est major deceptio: Cum Antichristus habet sub specie Cleri, Procuratores duodecim contra Ecclesiam Christi machinantes; cujusmodi ponuntur Papæ et Cardinales, Patriarchæ, Archipræsules, Episcopi, Archidiaconi, Officiales, Decani, Monachi, et Canonici bifurcati, pseudofratres introducti jam ultimo, et Quæstores. Omnes autem isti duodecim, et specialiter Prælati Cæsarii et Fratres, infundabiliter introducti sunt manifesti discipuli Antichristi, quia liber-

11. Quod Numerorum decimo octavo, Ezekielis quadagesimo quarto, præcipitur singulariter negative, quod nec sacerdotes Aaronitæ, nec Levitæ habeant partem hæreditatis cum aliis tribubus, sed quod pure vivant et de decimis et oblationibus.

tatem Christi tollunt, ac onerant sanctam Ecclesiam, et impediunt ne currat lex Evangelii libere sicut olim. Cap. 26.

11. Numer. 18. sic habetur. *Dixit Dominus ad Aaron, in terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec habebitis partem inter eos, Ego pars et hæreditas tua in medio filiorum Israel: Filiis autem Levi dedi omnes Decimas Israel in possessionem pro ministerio quo serviunt mihi in tabernaculo fæderis.* Si ergo Prælati nostri et viventes de Decimis fundant se in secunda parte hujus dicti Dominici ad avide capiendum Decimas quæ lucrum sapiunt, cur non primam partem auctoritatis Domini pro amore Christi pauperis adeo amplectuntur? Similiter, Deuter. xviii. sic habetur: *Non habebunt sacerdotes et Levitæ et omnes qui de eodem tribu sunt, partem et hæreditatem cum [reliquo populo] Israel; quia sacrificia Domini et oblationes ejus comedent nihil aliud accipient de possessione fratrum suorum, Dominus ipse enim est hæreditas eorum; sicut locutus est illis.* Si ergo tam acute ne-

12. Quod non est major hæreticus vel Antichristus quam ille clericus qui docet quod licitum est sacerdotibus et Levitis legis gratia dotari cum possessionibus temporalibus. Et si aliqui ex prævaricatione in Lege Dei sint hæretici, apostatæ,

gativæ legis veteris de possessione Clericorum ex verbis Domini sunt mandatæ, et cum hoc Christus et sui Apostoli, tempore legis gratiæ, hoc idem mandatum strictius observarunt; quis major foret hæreticus aut Antichristus quam ille clericus qui supra principes legis veteris contradiceret istis verbis? Similiter Ezech. xliv. sic habetur. *Non erit sacerdotibus hæreditas, quia ego hæreditas eorum: Et possessionem non dabitis eis in Israel, ego enim possessio eorum. Victimam et pro peccato et pro delicto comedent, et omne votum Israel ipsorum erit. Primitiva omnium primogenitorum, et omnia libamenta, ex omnibus quæ offeruntur sacerdotum erunt: Et primitiva ciborum vestrorum dabitis sacerdoti, ut reponat benedictionem domui suæ.* Lib. iv. cap. 15.

12. Quis major foret hæreticus aut Antichristus quam ille clericus qui supra principes legis veteris contradiceret istis verbis?— Si aliqui ex prævaricatione in legem Domini sunt hæretici, apostatæ vel blasphemii, sunt illi clerici, etiam Epi-

vel blasphemi, sunt illi clerici qui hæc docent.

scopi, qui tam notabiliter offendunt in prævaricantiam harum legum. — Si ergo Episcopus in mitra sit cornutus, ad denotandum quod noscit et observat utrumque testamentum, quis magis blasphemando mentitur in Christum, quam ille qui dotatur et ditatur in possessione temporalium etiam supra Reges? Cap. 15.

13. Quod non solum domini temporales possunt auferre bona fortunæ ab ecclesia habitualiter delinquente: Non solum hoc eis licet, sed debent hoc facere sub poena damnationis æternæ.

13. Nos autem dicimus illis quod nedum possunt auferre temporalia ab Ecclesia habitualiter delinquente, nec solum quod illis licet hoc facere, sed quod debent sub poena damnationis gehennæ; cum debent de sua stultitia poenitere, et satisfacere pro peccato quo Christi Ecclesiam macularunt. Cap. 18.

14. Si corporalis unctio foret Sacramentum (ut modo fingitur) Christus et ejus Apostoli ipsius promulgationem non tacuissent.

14. Si ista corporalis unctio foret Sacramentum, ut modo fingitur, Christus et cæteri Apostoli ejus promulgationem et executionem debitam non tacerent. Concedo tamen tibi quod ista corporalis unctio est, aliquibus, cæteris paribus, Sacramentum. Sed oportet tunc quod Presbyteri mererentur suis devotis orationibus infirmatis. Cap. 25.

15. Quicumque est humi-

15. Quicumque est humi-

lior, servitivor in amore Christi, quoad suam ecclesiam amativior, ille tam in Ecclesia militante major, et proximus est Christi vicarius.

16. Quod ad verum dominiumulare requiritur justitia dominantis, sic quod nullus in peccato mortali est dominus alicujus rei.

17. Quod omnia quæ evenient, absolute necessario evenient.

18. Quod quicquid Papa

lior est Christo propinquior, — talis humilior est in regno cœlorum major. Lib. iii. cap. 2.

16. Dictum est sæpius quomodo duplici titulo stat hominem habere temporalia, scilicet, titulo originalis justitiæ, et titulo mundanæ justitiæ. Titulo autem originalis justitiæ habuit Christus omnia bona mundi, ut sæpe declarat Augustin. illo titulo, vel titulo gratiæ justorum sunt omnia: Sed longe ab illo titulo civilis possessio. Lib. iv. cap. 17.

17. Quoad lapsum meum de necessario, recolo me dixisse in libro primo quod omnia quæ evenient absolute necessario evenient. Et sic Deus non potest quicquam producere vel intelligere nisi quod de facto intelligit et producit. Sed quia quondam defendi constanter hujus oppositum, nec claret adhuc mihi demonstratio quæ hoc probat, ideo utor communiter hac cautela, mihi proposito tanquam possibili uno quod non est de facto. Suppono hoc tanquam possibile, si Deus voluerit. Lib. iii. cap. 8.

18. Scripta aliorum doc-

vel Cardinales sui sciunt ex sacra Scriptura deducere clare, illud duntaxat est credendum, vel ad sua monita faciendum. Et quicquid ultra præsumpserint sit, tanquam hæreticum, contemnendum.

torum magnorum quantumcunque vera dicuntur apocrypha, nec sunt credenda nisi de quanto in Scriptura Domini sunt fundata.—Ut Scriptura sacra sit magis apreciata et laudata, quæcunque veritas quam viator sensu non percipit debet ex hac fide Scripturæ esse deducta, saltem si requiritur a fidelibus esse credenda. Lib. iii. cap 31. Cavebo ab hac hæresi, si Papa et Cardinales asserunt hunc esse sensum Scripturæ, ergo sic est; quia tunc forent supra Apostolos confirmati. Lib. iv. cap. 10.

Articuli damna. in Con. Constantiensi.

Art. 17. Populares possunt ad suum arbitrium dominos delinquentes corrigere.

Assumunt [Episcopi in concilio terræmotus] istud subdole pro medio ad hunc finem, quod error nimis periculosus est dicere quod *Domini temporales possunt, ad arbitrium eorum, auferre bona temporalia ab Ecclesia delinquente; et Quod populares possunt, ad eorum arbitrium dominos delinquentes corrigere.* Quamvis autem ista *secunda* particula sit iners picatia a fratribus adinventata, tamen fratres laborant assidue ad fundandum illam sophistice. *Trial.* lib. iv. cap. 37.

No. 40.

Inter MSS.
Seldeni Ar-
chi. B. 10.

Ista est Protestatio Reverendi Doctoris una cum ejus Conclusionibus quæ ab eo in subscripta forma sunt posite, que in consimilibus materiis, et dissimilibus formis sunt et fuerunt reportate et ad Curiam Romanam transmissæ, et sic in multis minus bene impositæ.

^a Sic pro
halitus.

PROTESTOR publice ut sepe alias quod propono et volo esse ex integro Christianus, et quamdiu manserit in me^a alitus, profitens verbo et opere legem Christi. Quod si ex ignorantia vel quacunque alia causa in isto defecero, nunc prout extunc idem revoco et exsecro, submittens me humiliter correctioni sancte Matris Ecclesie.

1. *Totum genus humanum concurrentium citra Christum non habet potestatem simplicem ordinandi ut Petrus et omne genus suum dominetur in perpetuum politice supra mundum.* Istud concedo ex fide Scripture; cum oportet omnem civilitatem cessare ante finale judicium, cum prima ad Corinth. xv. Apostolus loquens de die Judicii ita scribit, *Demum finis, cum tradiderit regnum Domino et Patri, cum evacuaverit omnem principatum et virtutem.* Qui ergo credit carnis resurrectionem credit istum articulum, cum amplius non est exactio vel conversatio secularis. Nemo ergo habet potestatem ordinandi quicquid contra decretum Domini in hac parte.

2. *Deus non potest dare homini pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum civile dominium.* Pro isto suppono quod in perpetuum sumatur proprie, et famose utatur more Ecclesie orantis ut Trinitati sit *Gloria nunc et in perpetuum.* Suppono secundo quod civile dominium intelligatur formaliter pro illo quo quis civiliter dominetur. Et tertio quod sit locutio de Dei potestate ordinata, et tunc consequitur ex priori. Loquendo autem de Domini potentia absoluta, videtur multis probabile quod Deus non potest continuare eternaliter viationem sponse sue, eo quod tunc fraudaret eam a præmio, aut corpori diaboli injuste differret dare penam quam meruit.

3. *Carte humanitus adinvente de hereditate perpetua sunt impossibiles.* Ista conclusio fuit lateraliter dicta uni Doctori magnificanti cartas hominum, scriptura professionis Christiane postposita, melius, inquam, foret defensionis et expositioni scripture attendere, cum multe carte hujusmodi sint impossibiles. Concedo ergo conclusionem, cum multe carte affirmant de multis exheredatis et mortuis intestate, quod dantur eis pro se et heredibus in perpetuum certa dominia. Quod cum obviat ordinationi Divine non oportet canonizare cartas singulas scripturam fidei contempnendo.

4. *Quilibet existens in gratia gratum faciente finaliter nedum habet jus ad rem, sed pro suo tempore jus in ^b rem* ^b Sic MS. pro re.
super omnia bona Dei. Probatur ex fide Scripture satis famose Mat. xxiv. *Super omnia bona sua constituet eum.* Juncto illo Apostoli ad Rom. viii. *Deus proprio filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum, quomodo non cum ipso omnia nobis donavit?* Tres ergo prime conclusiones imprimunt mundialibus fidem Christi, ne submergantur in pelago seculi transeuntis cum concupiscentia ejus: Et quarta allicit hominem ad amorem Domini qui dilexit nos ad tot veras divitias.

5. *Homo potest solum ministratorie dare tam naturali filio quam filio imitationis temporale dominium et eternum implicitum.* Probatur per ^c idem Luc. vi. *Mensuram bonam et confertam et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum.* Et quod solum ministratorie ex hoc probatur, quod non licet pure homini dare aliquid nisi tanquam ministro Dei, juxta illud Apostoli prima ad Corinth. iv°. *Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi.* Unde Christus fuit verus minister ecclesie, dicente Apostolo ad Rom. xv. *Dico enim Jesum Christum ministrum fuisse.* Non ergo erubescat ejus vicarius fungi ministerio ecclesie, cum sit, vel esse debet, *servus servorum Domini.* Nam determinatio a modo legendi sacre Scripture, et fastus secularis domini, cum pruriente stilo seculari, videtur nimis disponere ad blasphemam extollentiam Antichristi; specialiter si veritates fidei Scripture reputentur lollium, fidei

Christiane contrarium ab illis capitaneis qui presumunt quod decreto eorum in omni materia fidei oportet stare, quamcunque ignari fuerint fidei scripturarum. Sic enim posset esse concursus ad Curiam ad emendum dampnationem Scripture sacre tanquam heretice et dispensationem contra articulos fidei Christiane.

6. *Si Deus est, Domini temporales possunt legitime ac meritorie auferre bona fortune ab ecclesia delinquente.*

Pro isto suppono quod loquamur de posse, ut loquitur Scriptura rectissima et summe auctentica, Mat. iii. *Potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahamæ, &c.* Concedo ergo Conclusionem tanquam corelariam primo articulo fidei. Nam si Deus est, ipse est omnipotens; et si sic, ipse potest dare dominis secularibus hujusmodi potestatem: Et per consequens ipsi possunt meritorie ac legitime sic uti hujusmodi potestate. Sed ne Conclusio sit ex remotione impertinens, ostendi quod domini temporales habent potestatem [^d auferendi] suas elemosinas collatas ecclesie, ipsa illis elemosinis abutente: Et quod talis ablatio foret in casu spirituale opus misericordie, salvans animam a gehenna, et impetrans utrimque beatitudinem. Collatio vero talis elemosine preter vel contra religionem quam Christus instituit, relevat corpus a temporali miseria tanquam elemosina corporalis. Et ut videtur, sicut dotatio potest esse occasio beatitudinis, sic verisimilius ablatio. Dixi tamen quod hoc non licet facere nisi autoritate ecclesie in defectu spiritualis prepositi, et in casu quo ecclesiasticus corripiendus fuerit a fide dignis.

^d abest in MS.

7. *Scimus quod non est possibile ut vicarius Christi pure ex bullis suis, vel ex illis cum volitione et consensu suo, aut sui collegii quenquam habiliter vel inhabiliter.* Probatur ex fide Scripture, qua credit ecclesia quod oportet omnem habilitationem hominis primo a Domino procedere. Nullus autem Christi vicarius in isto habet potestatem, nisi vicarie in nomine Domini notificare ecclesie quem Deus habilitat. Ideo si quicquam facit non vicarie in nomine Domini, quem propter opus suum recognoscit vel recogitat auctorem, est Luciferina presumptio, cum secunda

ad Corinth. iii. dicat Christus in suo Apostolo : *Omnis vestra sufficientia ex Domino est.*

8. *Non est possibile hominem excommunicari ad sui dampnum, nisi excommunicetur primo et principaliter a seipso.* Probatur eo, quod omnis talis excommunicatio sapit excommunicati deteriorationem. Sed nemo potest, secundum Chrysostomum et Scripturam sacram, deteriorari, nisi ledatur per peccatum quod oportet trahere originem a peccante. Nam meritoria suspensio hominis a Sacramentis, et ingressu Ecclesie non est excommunicatio nisi equivoce. Et quantum ad rationem meriti, est prius ab excommunicato quam a Christi vicario excommunicante. Nemo enim dampnificatur si non per peccatum subtraheretur Divinum subsidium; ut probatur Ysa. lix. *Iniquitates vestre dividerunt inter vos et Dominum vestrum.*

9. *Nemo debet nisi in causa Dei excommunicare, suspendere, interdicare, vel secundum quamcunque censuram ecclesiasticam vindicando procedere.* Probatur ex hoc quod nemo debet vindictam expetere nisi in causa justitie: Omnis causa justitie est causa Dei, cum ipse sit fons justitie, ergo concludo. Cum enim ex peccato originatur omnis talis punitio, omne vero peccatum sit in Dominum, juxta illud Psalmi l. *Tibi soli peccavi:* Probatur quod nemo, nisi ad vindicandum Dei injuriam, debet ad punitionem talem procedere. Nam ex fide Scripture nemo debet vindictam capere, nisi secundum rationem, qua fit injuria Domino suo, rationem personalis injurie remittendo, ut probatur de precepto Christi Mat. xviii. *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, dimitte ei usque septuagies septies.*

10. Ex istis probatur decima Conclusio: *Quod maledictio vel excommunicatio non ligat simpliciter, nisi de quanto fertur in adversarium legis Christi.* Probatur sic; Nam talis maledictio non ligat quoad Deum, nisi de quanto ligatus offendit in legem suam, sed non ligat nisi de quanto ligaverit quoad Deum: Ergo concludo. Si enim Deus gratificat, quis est qui condempnet? Deus autem non offenditur nisi fuerit propter adversantiam legis

sue. Et isti Articuli juvant ut lex Christi sit carior, cum oportet ipsam esse regulam dirigentem in quocunque processu legitimo, et ut fides Scripture ad Rom. xii. melius imprimatur, *Non vosmet ipsos defendentes, charissimi, sed date locum ire: Scriptum est enim, Mihi vindicta, et ego retribuam.*

11. *Non exemplata potestas a Christo suis discipulis excommunicandi subditum præcipue propter negationem temporalium, sed e contra.* Probatur ex hoc, quod Christus docet honorem Dei et utilitatem ecclesie ante personale commodum, vel negationem temporalium preferendum. Et *secunda* pars probatur per illud Luc. ix. ubi prohibuit suos discipulos volentes ignem de celo descendere, ad excommunicandum infideles injuste detinentes a Christo et suis discipulis bona sua. *Nescitis, inquit, cujus spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non venit animas perdere, sed salvare.* Unde Conclusio Catholica est, quod non licet Christi vicario excommunicare proximum, nisi propter amorem quo plus sibi afficitur quam omnibus temporalibus hujus mundi. Et probatur negativa conclusio inductive ac per deducens ad impossibile quod tunc fuisset in Christo est et non.

^e for. postquam.

12. *Discipuli Christi non habent potestatem ad, coactione civili, exigendum temporalia per censuras.* Probatur de Apostolis et aliis Christi discipulis usque ad dotationem Ecclesie: Qui in quantalibet magna egestate fidelium non exercuerunt hujus potestatem, sed hortati sunt secundum legem Dei, et devotum ministerium ad tales benedictiones que debent esse elemosine voluntarie. Sed ^e priusquam dotata est ecclesia, commixte sunt confusim talis palliata censura et secularis exactio. Immo probatur quod donatio civilis Luc. xxii. fuit Christi discipulis prohibita.

13. *Non est possibile de Dei potentia absoluta, quod si Papa vel alius Christianus prætendat se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso sic solvit vel ligat.* Probatur ex hoc, quod omnis Christianus posset in hoc errare difformiter ab ecclesia triumphante, tunc autem non ligaret aut solveret ut pretendit: Ergo non potest esse quod si pre-

tendit se ligare vel solvere, ita facit. Unde videtur mihi quod usurpans sibi hanc potestatem foret ille homo peccati de quo 2^{da} ad Tessel. 2^o scribitur: *quod in templo Domini sedeat, et ostendat se tanquam esset Deus.*

14. *Credere debemus quod tunc solum ligat vel solvit simpliciter Christi vicarius quando conformiter legi Christi.* Probatur ex hoc, quod omnis potestas Christi vicarii solum tunc est in effectum legitima quando beneplacito capitis ecclesie regulatur et regitur.

15. *Hoc debet credi catholice quod quilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus secundum legem gratie habet potestatem secundum quam potest sacramenta ministrare, et per consequens sibi confessum de quocunque peccato contritum absolvere.* Probatur ex hoc, quod potestates ordinum in quibuscunque Christi sacerdotibus sunt equales, ut declarat Hugo 2^o de Sacramentis. Alique tamen potestates ordinum equales aliis in substantia rationabiliter sunt ligatæ que possunt solvi ad ministrandum, ut dicit conclusio.

16. *Licet Regibus, in casibus limitatis a jure, auferre temporalia a viris ecclesiasticis, ipsis habitualiter abutentibus.* Probatur de ratione posita in quinta Conclusionem. Nam ad opera magis meritoria et Dominis temporalibus magis facilia sunt ipsi domini magis obligati. Sed foret in casu major elemosina atque facilius dominum temporalem subtrahere elemosinam suam ab edificante ad ^fjehennam ^fgehennam. per ejus abusum, quam donare dictam elemosinam ad subsidium corporale: Ergo concludo. Unde secundum legem triplicem specificatur ista sententia. *Prima* est lex civilis de causis corradæ collatione 10^a. *Si Clericus, inquit lex, veluti Episcopus, vel Abbas habens beneficium a Rege datum, non solummodo persone sed ecclesie ipsum propter culpam suam perdat, eo vivente, ad Regem pertineat; post mortem vero clerici ad successorem revertatur.* *Secunda* lex est Canonica 16. q. 7. c. *filiis* sic dicitur, *filiis vel nepotibus ac honestioribus propinquis ejus qui construxit vel dotavit ecclesiam licitum sit hanc habere solertiam ut si sacerdotem aliquem ex collatis rebus defraudare præviderint, aut honesta conventionem compescant, aut Episcopo vel*

Judici corrigenda denuncient: Quod si Episcopus fuerit negligens, dicatur Metropolitano: Et tertio in eorum negligentia debet, ut dicit canon, Regis auribus intimari. Nec credo id fingibile ad quid Regi denuncient nisi ut ipse correctionem adhibeat. Nec dubium quin correctio Regi pertinentior atque salubrior in hac parte foret bonorum, quorum est capitalis Dominus, subtractio proportionaliter ad delictum. *Tertia* lex est Evangelica 2^{da} ad Tessal. § 2^o, ubi Apostolus sic scribit: *Cum essemus apud vos, hoc denunciabamus vobis, h quum si quis non vult operari, non inducet.* Jus ergo nature licentia habentes regnorum gubernacula, rectificare abusus temporalium qui precipue destruerent regna sua.

§ Sic MS.
pro 3^o.

h Sic MS.
pro quoniam.

17. *Sive Domini temporales, sive quicunque alii dotaverint ecclesiam temporalibus, licet eis in casu auferre temporalia medicinaliter ad cavenda peccata, non obstante excommunicatione vel alia censura ecclesiastica, cum non nisi sub conditione implicita sunt donata.* Probatur ex hoc, quod per se conditio consequens ad donationem bonorum ecclesie est, ut Deus honoretur et Ecclesia edifice-
tur: Que conditio si defuerit, succedente opposito, probat quod perit titulus donationis, et per consequens dominus dans elemosinam rectificare debet errorem. Excommunicatio autem non debet obstare Justitie complemento; quia
i Sic MS. sic posset clericus per excommunicationem i reparatorie conquirere totum mundum.

18. *Ecclesiasticus, etiam Romanus Pontifex potest legitime a subditis corripere ad utilitatem Ecclesie, et tam a clericis quam a laycis accusari.* Prima pars probatur eo quod omnis talis ecclesiasticus est frater noster peccabilis, et per consequens ex lege correptionis fraterne potest corripere. Unde Mat. xviii. Si peccaverit in quocunque assistens de possibili opportunitate debet eum corripere. Et per idem, si fuerit obstinata defensio pravitatis heretice, vel alterius peccati vergentis ad spirituale dampnum ecclesie, debet in casu penes superiores accusari, ad finem ut ex ejus correctione periculum ecclesie caveatur. Sic enim reprehensus est Petrus a Paulo ad Gal. 2^o, et multi Papæ ir-

regulares per Imperatores depositi, ut narrat^k Castren-^k Sic MS.
sis in sua Policronica libro 5^o. Ecclesia enim est supra^{pro Cestren-}
istum pontificem: Ideo dicere quod iste non debet cor-^{sis in sua}
ripi ab homine, sed a Domino quomodocunque pecca-^{Policratica.}
verit, videtur mihi implicare quod ipse sit supra Ecclesiam
sponsam Christi, et quod ad instar Antechristi figuratur
ejus extollentia super Christum. Christus enim, licet im-
peccabilis, voluit esse subjectus principibus etiam in abla-
tione suorum temporalium, ut probatur Mat. xvii. Hec est
aliqualis responsio ad bullam. Istas Conclusiones dixerim
ut granum fidei separatum a palea qua ignitur ingratum
lolium quod post florem ruboris vindicte fetentis, parat pa-
bulum contra Scripturas fidei Antechristo. Cujus infalli-
bile est signum quod regnet in Clero venenum luciferi-
num, superbia consistens in libidine dominandi, cujus con-
jux terrenorum cupiditas concreet filios Diaboli, extinctis
filiis evangelice paupertatis. Judicium vero ubertatis hujus
propaginis probatur ex hoc, quod multi etiam filii pauper-
tatis degeneres foveant loquendo, vel tacendo partem Luci-
feri, non valentes aut non audentes propter semen hominis
peccati injectum in cordibus, aut timorem servilem de
amissione temporalium, stare pro evangelica paupertate.

*Hee sunt Conclusiones quas vult etiam usque ad mortem
defendere, ut per hoc valeat mores ecclesie reformare.*



An explanation of the Abbreviations used in the following Table.

AN
EXPLANATION

OF THE
OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS

IN
DR. WICLIF'S LIFE.

An explanation of the Abbreviations used in the following Table.

- A. S. Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, opera Thomæ Benson.
Bo. The Royal Dictionary, by Mr. Boyer.
C. The old and obscure Words in Chaucer explained, at the end of the edition of Chaucer's Works, 1602.
Ca. Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, autore Guilielmo Cave, SS. Theol. Profess.
Ch. Glossary explaining the obsolete and difficult Words in Chaucer, at the end of the edition of Chaucer's Works, 1721.
H. Glossary explaining the old and obscure Words in Spenser's Works, prefixed to Mr. Hughes's edition of them, 1715.
J. Correction and Explanation of old Words, by Mr. Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent. MS.
K. A Glossary to explain the Original, the Acceptation, and Obsoleteness of Words and Phrases; at the end of Parochial Antiquities, &c. by White Kennett, Vicar of Ambrosden.
Ma. Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, by George Mackenzie, M. D.
S. Laws and Acts of Parliament made by ——— Kings and Queens of Scotland.
Si. Liber Sigeberti Gemblacensis Monachi de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.
W. An Alphabetical Table of the more obsolete English Words to be found in a Treatise of Bishop Pecock's, published by Mr. Wharton, 1688.

An Alphabetical Table of the more obsolete English Words to be found in the several Quotations from Dr. Wiclif's Writings in the History of his Life, with their Significations.

A

ABEISANT, obedient
 Abite, habit
 Accorden, accord, agree
 Aferd, afraid
 Affiede, trusted to
 Agenstonde, resist, withstand
 Algates, A. S. algate, always, every way, by all means
 Algif, although
 Alsmych, alskmykell, as much
 Als, as, else
 Alured, K. Alfred
 Amend, Fr. amender, reformed, help
 Anemptis, concerning, with respect to, according to, anemptis God's law
 Anelyng, oiling, anointing
 Ancetres, ancestors
 Aparaille, Fr. appareil, furnish, adorn, provide
 Apeid, apaid, paid, content, requited
 Apropred, appropriated
 Array, order
 Askey, asketh
 Askaunce, askew, aside, awry, Ch.
 Assoile, assolve, absolve, loose, answer, resolve, refuse, W.
 Avaunce, advance, honour, prefer
 Avisement, consideration, deliberation
 Avoutrie, adultery
 Auter, altar
 Awayted, Ch. waited, H. served, looked about
 Axed, asked
 Axingis, askings, demands

B.

Babwyris, baubles
 Bailiwick, stewardship
 Be, by
 Begyle, beguile, deceive
 Behests, A. S. behat. promises
 Bellyche, Fr. belle, fine
 Bemers, A. S. Beme, Bohemians
 Ben, been
 Beseke, beseech
 Bien, buy
 Biddyngis, commands
 Biheight, promised
 Blaberen, blab, prate
 Bliss, A. S. blisse, happiness
 Bold, A. S. bolde, a gentleman's seat
 Swich a bild bold y buld upon earth heighte,
 Say I nought in certayn sythen a long tyme.
 Such a built seat built on earth high,
 Saw I not for certain a long time since.

Bonoure, Fr. bonaire, B. gracious, good-natured, meek, gentle, kind
 Brenne, burn
 Brod, brode, broad, wide
 But if, unless, except
 Bygile. See Begyle. beguile, deceive

C.

Caas, cases, fortune, hap, chance
 Casten, A. S. cearung, cast, devise, think, contrive, foresee

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

Caitif, <i>Lat.</i> captivus, or <i>Fr.</i> chetif, <i>slave, wretch</i> , Ch.	Dome, A. S. <i>ðome</i> , judge
Cautele, <i>caution, wariness, cunning</i>	Doom, judgment
Certes, <i>Fr.</i> certes, <i>certainly, surely</i>	Dooms-day, A. S. <i>ðoomsðag</i> , day of judgment
Cesse, <i>cease, leave off</i>	Dortoure, a dormitory, or common sleeping-room in monasteries
Chalice, <i>cup</i>	Doutes, doubts, disputes
Chargen, <i>charge, order</i>	Douty, doubtful
Challenge, <i>claim, account</i>	Drawen, draw
Chapitle, <i>Lat.</i> capitulum, <i>chapter-house</i>	Dritt, dirt
Chese, <i>choose</i>	Durren, A. S. <i>ðuppan</i> , <i>durst, dare</i>
Chees, <i>chose</i>	Dwell, Ch. <i>continue, remain, stay, or tarry</i>
Chouldest, <i>shouldst</i>	Dymes, <i>tenths, tythes</i>
Cleped, A. S. <i>cleoped</i> , called	E.
Clenness, <i>cleanness, purity</i>	Either, or
Comyn, <i>common</i>	Eke, A. S. <i>eac</i> , also
Compas, <i>circle</i>	Elbidian. <i>Helvidius</i> , a disciple of Auxentius Bishop of Milan, who flourished at Rome about the year 382, and maintained that St. Mary was married to Joseph her spouse, by whom she had several sons, who were called the brethren of the Lord. Against which opinion St. Hierome wrote in answer to him. Ca.
Convenable, <i>convenient</i>	Elispired, perhaps for expired. Seculer power of the Hooly Goost expired, alluding to the secular power the Popes have. For having quoted four verses of Sibille, one of which is: Papa cito moritur, Cæsar regnabit ubique, Wiclif adds, <i>thei that tretten thes verse of Sibille, alle that I have seen, accorden in this, that seculer power of the Hooly Goost elispired.</i>
Conisance, <i>Fr.</i> connoissance, <i>knowledge, arms, badges of distinction by which persons are known or distinguished</i> , B.	Els, A. S. <i>ealy</i> , <i>else, otherwise, also</i>
Corps, <i>body</i>	Enhansen, <i>enhance, advance</i>
Covetisse, <i>covetousness</i>	Enheighten, <i>heighten, exalt</i>
Couchen, A. S. <i>cucian</i> , live	
Crotchet, <i>Fr.</i> crosset, B. a little cross	
Craftly, A. S. <i>cpart</i> , <i>ingeniously, workmanlike</i>	
D.	
Dagon, A. S. <i>ðage</i> , a piece, remnant	
Daigtur, <i>daughter</i>	
Damnation, <i>judgment, condemnation</i>	
Dampnyde, <i>condemned</i>	
Dede, <i>dead</i>	
Defendus, <i>Fr.</i> defendre, <i>defend, maintain, support</i> , B.	
Demen, A. S. <i>ðeman</i> , <i>deem, judge, think</i>	
Departen, <i>part, divide, distribute</i>	
Disceyven, <i>deceive</i>	

OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

Ensample, *to give or set an example, pattern*

Entayled, *It. intagli, Ch. H. carved, engraved*

————— *and well entaylid,
With many full rich pourtrei-
tures,*

An image of anothre entail.

Chaucer.

Entens, *for incense*

Entent, *intent, design*

Entreessed, *engaged, interested*

Erbere, *arbour*

Eschet, *escheat, forfeited lands
or other profits to the lord*

Eschewe, *avoid*

Even, *equal, fellow*

Everilk, *everiche, each*

Euesed, *A. S. epiꝛað, plainly,
manifestly*

Exile, *banish*

Eyen, *eyes*

F.

Faling, *failing*

Famulory, *serviceable*

Far-casting, *A. S. foꝛpe-cearung,
forecasting, contriving, plot-
ting*

Fast, *A. S. faꝛt, stedfast, con-
stantly*

Fay, *Ch. faith, truth*

He is so wise, in fay as I believe.
Chaucer.

Fele, *sense, perception, know-
ledge, to understand*

*What lord is yond, qð she, have
you no fele?* Chauc.

Feled. *See Fele. understood*

Fell, *A. S. fela, many, manifold*

Feery, *A. S. feoph, life, soul, J.*

Feigned, *invented, counterfeited*

Fend, *devil*

Fer'd. *A. S. fepan, went*

Ferrer, *farther*

Ferley, *fairly.*

Fermery, *infirmary, where the
sick in the convent were laid*

Findings, *inventions*

Fittred, *A. S. fēpepeðe, jagged
like feathers; p. 40, ragged
and fittred squires.*

Forbare, *A. S. foꝛbæpan, to
keep from, withhold. Forbare
men of their right: to bear
up, support, Ch.*

Fonnyd, *A. S. fon, befooled*

Allein — thou is a fon.

Chaucer.

Fordon, *A. S. foꝛðoen, undone,
destroyed*

Forsooth, *in truth*

Forth, *A. S. foꝛð, forwards,
thenceforth, therefore*

Forthe, *afford*

Fote, *for soth, J. truth, true*

Foul, *unfair, ill*

Foule hem befall. Chauc.

Fouled, *defiled*

Fraitoure, *fraternity, friery, a
monastery, abbey, convent*

Franchise, *Fr. freedom, liberty,
immunity, exemption, B.*

Frayne, *A. S. fægnian, to ask,
consult, inquire*

Fro, *from*

Full. *See Fell.*

G,

Gabbyng, *A. S. gabepe, prating
as Gypsies do, lying*

Gabb I of this? Chauc.

Gaf, *gave*

Gamenes, *A. S. gamene, games,
sports, plays.*

Garnements, *garments, J.*

*The grevous woundis of his pi-
teous corse*

*Shal be to me a full royal gar-
nement.* Chauc.

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

Gaynage, perh. A. S. *geanunge*,
gain, rent, income
 Gedred, *gathered, engrossed*
 Gesseth, *guesseth, expecteth*,
thinketh
 Getters, A. S. *geotan*, *spenders*,
high livers, J.
 Glose, *gloss, note, explanation*,
deceit, Ch.
 Glosen, *flatter, lie*
 Gloseris, *glossers, commentators*,
deceivers
 Glowying, A. S. *glopan*, *glitter-*
ing, shining
 Goddis, *goods*
 God's-kichell, A. S. *god-cicel*,
a cake which godfathers, &c.
used to give their godchildren
when they asked them bless-
ing.
 Gomor, *Gomorra*
 Gostly, *ghostly, spiritually*
 Gronde, in *gronde, grondely*,
fundamentally, W.
 Grounding, *foundation*
 Greeting, *salutation*

H.

Halwing, *hallowing*
 Han, *have*
 Haunten, *haunt, frequent*
 Hayned, A. S. *hayān*, or Fr.
haine, hated, despised, or ston-
ed, from Sax. hānan, J.
 Harlot, perhaps Fr. *valet*, *a*
servant, a mean despised per-
son, so Wiclif uses it. We
 seen in this world that a *lit-*
tle harlot despiseth and scorn-
 eth his [*the Pope's*] Lord-
 ship; and yett he doth all his
 might, all his witt, and all
 his will to be venged upon
 such a *poore harlot*. Perhaps,
 q. *varlet*, or A. S. *heopð*
cniht, a man-servant.
 Having, *retaining possession*

Hearen, herien, A. S. *hepien*,
praise
 Heling, hiling, A. S. *helan*, *co-*
vering, raiment
 Hem, *them*
 Herbour, herberwe, *harbour*,
lodge, entertain
 Heraud, *herald at arms*
 Her, here, *their*
 Herydene, *earð-ðýne*, *din* or
noise of the earth, earthquake
 Hests, A. S. *hete*, *commands*
 Highed, A. S. *higan*, *hasten*
 Hienes, *haughtiness*
 Highen, *exalt*
 Hight, *promised*
 Holden, *support, maintain*
 Hole, *whole, wholly*, Ch. with
gay garites and grete and ich
hole yglased. *Wiclif's Life*, p.
 347.
 Holesome, *wholesome*
 Hord, A. S. *hopð*, *a heap, trea-*
sure
 Hornes, *harness*

I.

Japes, *jests, deceits*, C. Ch.
 Ich, A. S. *ic*, I.
 Idiots, *ignorant persons, fools*
 Ilk, *the same*
 In caas, *perhaps*
 In ground, *at the bottom*

K.

Kenely, A. S. *kenlice*, *sharply*
 Kenerchiefs for Keverchiefs,
 Fr. *Couverchef*, B. *kerchiefs*,
women's head-clothes, Chauc.
 Or rather a large piece of
fine linen cloth, which women
used to wear over their other
head-clothes when they went
abroad.
 That werith or a kerchief, or a
 call. Chauc.

OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

*Her coverchiefs were large and
fine of ground,
I durst to swere that thei weyid
three pound,
That on a Sondag were upon
her heade.* Ibid.

Kind, nature.——No man may
fordo the law of kinde.
Chaucer.

Kirke, A. S. cȳric, church

Knackers, players, toyers

*Kun, A. S. cunnan, to know,
skill*

*Kunning, art, skill, knowledge,
experience*

L.

Late, let

*Larder, seems to signify a
slaughter-house, Ch.*

—— *And thus drawn was
this innocent, as an ox to the
larder.* Chaucer.

*Lavours, drains, lavers, cisterns
to wash in*

Lazer, Lazarus, a leper

Left, leave, forsaken

Lefully, lawfully

Legians, allegiance

Lessen, A. S. leorān, lose

*Lesings, lesyngus, lear-hyrung,
lies, mistakes*

Lesyng, A. S. leyring, losing

Letten, A. S. lettān, hinder

Levè, Ch. dear, loving

Leve, remain, is left

Leven, live

*Lewid, A. S. lepeð, ignorant,
lay*

Liflode, livelihood

Lig, liig, A. S. liganne, lie down

Lombardy, usury

Lond, land

Looves, loaves

*Lore, A. S. leopnan, learning,
lesson, direction, rule*

*Lorels, A. S. lope, devourers,
cheats, loose, vile fellows*

Lovelyche, lovely

Lowside, loosed

Lusty, Ch. desirable, pleasant.

Lusty-lees. Chauc.

Lymes, limbs, J.

Lyre, Nich. Lyra

*Lyth, A. S. hliðe, easy: p. 103,
the argument of heretykus
agayne this sentense [is] lyth
to a Christene man to assolve,
is easy to a Christian to an-
swer, or resolve.*

*Lithe, perhaps A. S. hðan, to
listen, hearken, attend*

M.

*Mar, A. S. mapan, corrupt,
spoil*

Marvaile, wonder

*Mass, celebration of the Sacra-
ment of the Lord's Supper*

*Mattins, Lat. Matutinus, morn-
ing prayer, which used to be
at six o'clock in the morning.*

*Manquellers, A. S. mancuel-
ler, mankillers*

Massagers, messengers

*Maynnus, main, huge, or loud,
clamorous, from A. S. mag-
nerre, mahnerre, J.*

Mede, A. S. meðe, reward

*Medeful, meritorious, deserving
a reward*

*Menen, Fr. mener, lead, con-
strain, Bo.*

*Medlid, A. S. meðlice, mingled,
mixed*

*Meyne, meynth, A. S. menigeo,
or Fr. mesnie, a company, a
retinue, all that live together
in one house; homely meynth,
those of his own house or fa-
mily.*

Miche, much

Mightest ou, mightest thou

Mo, A. S. mæpe, more

More party, greater part

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

Moreness, greatness
 Modur, A. S. *moðer*, mother
 Mosten, *most of all, chiefly*
 Moten, *mot, must*
 Muck, A. S. *mucg*, dung, gain,
 riches
 Muckil, *much*
 Munte, A. S. *munte*, mount
 Mych, *myckell, much*
 Mynstre, A. S. *mýnstrpe*, a
 church
 Myrrour, *Fr. miroir, a looking-*
 glass, example

N.

Namelyche, *namely*
 Ne, *nor*
 Neded, A. S. *neað*, needed, com-
 pelled
 Neet, *neat, clean*
 Neigh, *nigh, to approach*
 Neither, *nor*
 Nemeth, *nameth, mentioneth*
 Nethles, *nevertheless*
 Nice, *Fr. niais, foolish, silly*
 Nold, A. S. *nolde*, would not
 New-Song, *the way of singing*
 the Church-service, introduced
 by Guido Aretinus, a Bene-
 dictine Monk, about the year
 1028, Ma. Si.
 Nones, *nonce, the purpose*
 Novices, *probationers in religi-*
 ous houses
 Nouth, *nought*
 Nys, A. S. *nýs*, is not

O.

Obeche, *obeishe, obey, yield*
 obedience to
 Obeisand, *obeisant, obedient*
 Oblishid, *obliged*
 Onethe, A. S. *uneaðe*, difficult,
 scarcely, almost
 Opyn, *open, plain*
 Os, *as*
 Ost, *oost, host, or sacramental*
 bread

Other, *either, or*
 Ordinances, *laws*
 Outh, A. S. *oð*, unto
 Oules, *perhaps* A. S. *polian*,
 pincers
 Over, A. S. *orep*, besides, over
 and above
 Over many, *too many*
 Owen, *oweth, ought*
 Oyer, *other*

P.

Palfraye, *a pad, or riding-horse*
 Parishens, *parishioners*
 Parting, *dividing, distributing*
 Passing, *exceeding*
 Patrens, *patrons*
 Peir, *impair*
 Pelure, *fine fur*
 Perfitt, *perfect*
 Perilous, *dangerous*
 Perred, *out of repair*
 Persons, *rectors of parishes*
 Petres-Pence, *Peter Pence, mo-*
 ney paid to the Pope every
 year at the feast of St. Peter
 ad Vincula, August 1. This
 payment was, at first, a penny
 from every house in which
 there were thirty pence of
 ready money. By Pope Gre-
 gory the whole sum was stat-
 ed at 201l. of which the pro-
 portion in the diocese of Lin-
 coln was 42l. K. The te-
 nants of St. Austin's abbey in
 the Isle of Thanet paid for
 their swilling-lond, fifty-five
 shillings.
 Peyne, *punishment*
 Pies, *magpies*
 Pleet, *plead, plea*
 Pore, *look near or narrowly*
 Possessioneres, *such of the Re-*
 ligious as were allowed to
 have and hold lands.
 Posterne, *a back door or gate*
 Potestate, *power*

OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

Poyntil, *square paving stone*

Prie. See Pore.

Pristus, *Priests*

Priveth, *depriveth, hindereth*

Pry, *pray*

Pryvyties, *privities, secrecies*

Procuracy, *procuration. A fee or piece of money paid to Bishops and Archdeacons for visiting their Clergy.*

Procurator, *a proctor or attorney*

Pulched, *Lat. pulcher, beautified*

Purede, *Lat. purus, cleaned*

Purse-kervers, *purse-cutters*

Purvey, *provide, prepare*

Putten, *impute*

Q.

Queyntelyche, *quaintly, curiously, finely*

Quiennales, *masses to be said five years*

Quikke, *quick, A. S. cuce, living*

R.

Rage-man, *an officer to hear and determine disputes, C.*

Raveynes, *ravenous, rapines*

Rebelty, *rebellion*

Recke, *A. S. peccan, reckon, number, count*

Rekned, *reckoned, numbered, counted*

Right as a rageman has reckned hem newe.

Just as the officer has new counted them.

Regalie, *royalty, sovereignty*

Refute, *Fr. refuite, refuge, help*

Resset, *reset, receipt, supply, entertain, J. S.*

Ressert, *Fr. ressource, resort, refuge*

Rewarde, *regard*

Rewme, *realm*

Right as, just as

Righteousnes, justice

Ryth, right

S.

Sad, perhaps from A. S. Sab, sad, serious, solid

Sathanas, Satan

Satrap, Lat. Satrapas, peer, lord

Sauter, Psalter, David's Psalms or Songs

Say, A. S. rap, saw

Schilde, shield, protect, guard, defend, God schilde, God forbid

Scariot, Judas Iscariot

Schete, A. S. rcoþian, shot

Schrift, A. S. rcpifc, confession

Schrive, A. S. rcpifan, confess

Scrowe, scrall or scrawl

Seching, seeking

Seigh, saw

Self, selve, A. S. relf, the same, self-same

Selure, perhaps from A. S. relan, cieling

Semed, thought, considered

Semliche, seemly, handsome, sightly

Sentence, sense, meaning

Sene, seen, sene fote, truly seen, J.

Sex, sixth

Seyn, say

Shaveldours, A. S. rceorl-ðopa, q. d. shovel-doors, lick-trenchers, parasites, flatterers, J.

Shullen, shall

Shenden, A. S. rcendan, corrupt, deflower

Sike, sick

Siker, secure, sure

Sikerly, securely

Sikernes, security

Sillen, sell

Sith, sithin, since, afterwards, seeing that

Skylle, reason

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

Sence that you list, it skylle is to be so. Chaucer.

Slen, slain, destroyed

Sleers, slayers

Sompner, A. S. *romnian*, a summoner, apparitor

Sort, Lat. *sors*, a lot

Soth, A. S. *roð*, sooth, truth, indeed

Sothely, truly

Sotil, subtil

Sour-dowe, leavened dough

Sorwe, sorrow

Spedly, A. S. *rpeðan*, speedily, successfully, with dispatch, or out of hand

Stably, firmly

Stelen, steal

Stenenyde, ascended

Sterne, perhaps from A. S. *rteþne*, fidus

— strong stone wall sterne
upon heithe, well and high
built; or perhaps from Lat.
sternere, q. built or raised on
high

Stey, A. S. *stygan*, ascend

Stourblin, disturb, troubled

Streitly, strictly

Sue, follow

Sujets, sugets, subjects, parish-
ioners

Sumdele, somewhat, some part

Surprised, thought, imagined,
suspected

Swallow, a gulf

Swich, swiche, such

Synage, synodal, a pecuniary
rent, commonly two shillings,
paid to the Bishop at the time
of his annual synod by every
parochial Priest, K.

Sythen. See Sith.

T.

Tabernacle, a shed, a tent

Taken, A. S. *teacan*, teach

Talow, A. S. *teala*, profit

Tallagis, tolls, taxes

Tapits, Lat. *tapetum*, tapistries

Tattering, breaking, tearing to
pieces. Such knocking and
tattering, alluding to the gra-
dations of half notes and
quarter notes introduced in
the New Song, or new me-
thod of singing in churches.

Teld, told, foretold

Tellen, tell, say

Tey-dog, A. S. *teian-dog*, tied
up dog

Thikk, thick

Thilk, q. the ilk, that, the same

Thral, A. S. *þneal*, thrall, in
bondage, or slavery

Thredde, third

Tirantrie, tyranny

Toten, Ch. to look, or view very
carefully, as a man does when
he casts up the sum total of
his accounts.

Tolgadrere, a toll gatherer

Traiterie, treachery

Travaile, labour

Trentals, thirty masses for the
dead, the offering or allow-
ance to the Priests for saying
which was an angel, C. Ch.

Trienals, masses to be said three
years

Trippe, a piece

Troth, truth

Trowe, A. S. *trupian*, trust, be-
lieve

Twayne, make two, separate
Christ biddeth that no man de-
parte or twayne that God
hath ordeined.

True men, honest, faithful men

Tweie, two

Tyl, to

Tylde upon loft, tiled up aloft,
or over head

OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

U.

Vencuscheth, *vanquisheth, overcome*

Venge, *avenge, punish*

Very, *true*

Uncouth, *unknown, strange, odd, unusual*

Undone, *ruined*

Undoing, *revelation, explanation, Ch.*

But undoth us the avisioun.
Chaucer.

Unkunning, *ignorant, unskilful*

Unsacred, *unconsecrated*

W.

Wam, *whom. To wam is a law term signifying the annulling all proceedings, J.*

War, *beware*

Weiward, *cross, perverse, forward, cruel*

Well-clene, *very neat*

Wene, A. S. *pene, think, suppose, imagine*

Weren, *were*

Where, *whether*

Whough, *how*

Wild, A. S. *pilde, wild, untamed, boorish*

Wille, A. S. *pilla, will, pleasure, desire*

Wiid, *wide, broad*

Winning, *profit*

Winter, *year*

Wit, *think, know*

Witt, W. *understanding*

Wittingly, *knowingly*

Wolen, *wole, will*

Wone, woon, A. S. *punian, a habitation, a house, building*

Worship, *honour, respect*

Wot, wote, *knows*

Wynee, *win ye, gain ye*

Wytes, *witness, know ye*

Y.

Yat, *that*

Ybenched, *benched*

Yclawed, *clawed, scratched*

Ycorven, *carved*

Ydight, A. S. *dyttan, closed, made close, H. provided.*

Her dortoure ydight with dores ful strong.

Yerne, *earnestly, eagerly*

Ygraithed, *contrived, Ch.*

Yglased, *glased*

Yhiled. See *Hiled, or Heled*

Ymedeled. See *Medlid, mingled, mixed*

Ynoubred, *numbered*

Ypaint, *painted*

Yraid, *read*

Yseet, A. S. *reet, open, seen*

Ysong, *sung*

Ytight, *tied, H. neat, twisted, pulled, drawn, Ch.*

—— *Tabernacles ytight, tents drawn with cords, tied strait.*

Ytucked, *tucked up.*

Yus, *thus*

Ywrought, *wrought, cut or carved in stone*

Z.

Zeer, *year*

Zit, *yet*

THE END.

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Lewis, John

The history of the life and sufferings of John Wiclif

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